

THE
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CONTENTS

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"The Future Labour Offers You"

OLD RAGS IN GLORIOUS TECHNICOLOUR

BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR political issues were by and large a matter of—on my right—Tory, Protection—on my left—Liberal, Free Trade, and the voters backed their fancy. Then the Labour Party only took part in minor, left contests with the Liberals sometimes in their corner.

But even while *Laissez Faire* was still the official policy, the system's bureaucratic and administrative superstructure grew up like Jack and the Beanstalk and political parties found themselves caught up in the fine web of a more complex economy, from which they could never hope to free themselves. All had to do the same things. The job was to persuade the electorate that it was one rather than the other of them who could do these same things, better—or differently.

Today the political maps, whether read from left to right or *vice versa*, present a vast labyrinth of bureaucratic and administrative detail. Small wonder that when the electorate are taken on conducted tours by rival politicians they are apt to get lost in the maze: as a result the electorate often do not know where the politicians are and the politicians are often at a loss to know the whereabouts of the electorate. This loss of effective contact between the political parties and the electorate has become for the former a major problem. The task has been to establish a more simplified routing system.

The Tories first started this by putting up sign posts all over the place by way of captions and slogans. As a result more people began to find their way to the Tory polling booths than to the Labour ones in two successive elections.

The Politicians take to Advertising

Again, after the first impetus of enthusiasm for Labour had worn off, the Tories resorted to the old and more simple device of making elections largely an issue of Conservative blue powders versus Labour pink pills. As in all forms of monopolistic competition they relied upon superior advertising techniques to increase their public sales as against their rivals.

This has caused the Labour Party to let its hair down and pull up its publicity socks. They have just issued a pepped up version of their policy document called "The Future Labour Offers You." It is slick and shiny, and all captions, pictures and fluorescent printing. If against their Tory rivals they can no longer be holier-than-thou, they can at least strive to be glossier than thou.

It looks like a Christmas mail order brochure, complete with thumb index, so one can conveniently flick to what immediately interests you. Inside it will tell you all about your job, your home, your health, and your children's education. In fact, its legislative proposals cover everything from conception to cemetery.

MEMORABLE HAPPENINGS IN 1958

FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE AND THE BOYCOTT

THE FUTURE OF THE SUDAN

THE PASSING SHOW

WAR OF NERVES IN CANADA

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to Canada

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In the main it seeks to win over various categories of "middle class" voters, ranging from "Spam and Wonder Loaf" to "House and Garden." It is all cheerful and cosy and has a picture of a rosy dawn, but not a red one. It is the nearest yet to Shaw's ideal of making Labour as acceptable to all shades of opinion, including capitalists, as Tories or Liberals. It looks appetising election fare, only the taste in the mouth is nasty.

Nationalisation almost forgotten

There is only a brief reference to nationalisation in the document and even then it contrives to say as little as possible about it. While as a policy nationalisation has not yet been relegated to the museum of antiquities it has certainly gone in the Labour lumber room and the dust sheets are drawn over it.

For fifty years Labour chanted the virtues of nationalised industry, as against wicked private enterprise—the mines were their favourite theme. Now economic reality has converted it from a day dream to a nightmare. The coal industry is in the red, uneconomic pits are being closed down and miners are in process of being sacked by the thousands. Then there is the plight of the Railways and the plight of Railwaymen facing the biggest of large scale dismissals in Railway history. While the position of other nationalised transport is shaky, nor are Gas and Electricity illuminating examples of prosperous, booming nationalisation.

So nationalisation, which for fifty years was Labour's main policy plank, is found to be full of woodworm and the rot has set in.

Two conferences ago the Labour Party said: "Its housing policy would be the biggest public ownership project ever undertaken in this country." Now in the document all we meet is the vague phrase: "We shall tackle the problem of tenants' houses by empowering local councils to buy rent restricted property and modernising it as fast as possible."

Two years ago their emphatic policy was municipalisation of houses. But municipalisation is a word derived from the root of nationalisation which is now among the best Labour circles a swear word, so perhaps the former word ought not to be used in nice "middle class" homes.

Like the Tories, they propose to give mortgage grants via local councils and like the Tories they are prepared to give grants to prop up houses that are falling down. Both the Labour and Tory Housing Plan come within the category of identical twins.

Labourites used to talk of relieving the insecurity and tensions generated by the system. Yet after the successive Labour governments they blandly tell us that nearly half the hospital beds are occupied by people who are mentally ill. Perhaps there is a melancholy satisfaction in the fact that in a social system which more and more comes to resemble a vast lunatic asylum, the percentage of mental illness is not much greater.

One wonders whether Labour leaders along with other political leaders ought to be classified among the mentally sick. If so, it is disquieting to think that instead of being put to bed they may be put in office.

Disarmament hypocrisy

With tongue-bulging cheeks the party that began the biggest peace-time armament drive in English History

talks with a nauseating non-conformist morality about the need for disarmament and uses the old smear device of suggesting that it is the Tories who are the real militarist party.

Having approved the atom bomb and initiated at home the making of the hydrogen bomb, they seek to make political capital by their proposal to suspend nuclear tests. It is the sort of morality which would give a man under a suspended death sentence an anti-virus injection to keep him in good health and spirits.

No mention is made of Labour's ambitious schemes, bruited two conferences ago, of buying shares and participating in private enterprise if returned to office and so becoming direct eaters of surplus value. No doubt the marginal voter must be carefully weaned from Tory skim milk to Labour's predigested propaganda pap.

Perhaps the worst section is the one which deals with the Labour proposal to increase the old age pension from 50s. to 60s. per week. Mr. Crossman once said it was inhuman to expect old people to live on 50s. per week. Does he and his party think it human to live on 60s. per week? What an inhuman concept of human needs.

Only a cursory treatment can be made of this document now, and a detailed examination must be the subject of further articles, but enough has been said to show the yawning chasm of their once proclaimed ideals and the political practices they now accept.

Labourism not Socialism

To the old Labour appeal to us, that after all, we were both on the same road, the answer is, yes, but how far we have travelled in an opposite direction since then.

It has been said that when the final draft of this revamped version of Labour policy was run over, leading Labourites were so pleased and excited by it that they forgot to notice the word Socialism had been omitted from it. Perhaps after calling themselves a Socialist Party for fifty years they had guilt feelings and decided to put it in. Perhaps Mr. Bevan demanded it to go in as a concession to his "revolutionary" tradition. So they sprinkled it like pepper, a half-dozen times on the last page and half.

Because Labour's view of Socialism is more than ever a version of Capitalism with knobs on, the word may now take pride of place in Labour's vocabulary as against nationalisation, which has become a taboo word. Henceforth the Labour Party might become the party of "Socialism" and not nationalisation. No doubt many shades of opinion, including Shaw's "Capitalists," would welcome the change.

Even in the full draft policy Keir Hardie is given no mention. One wonders what the founder of the Labour Party would have thought of "his party" being sold on the political market like a soap powder.

More than ever does the struggle between the major parties take on the semblance of rival detergent monopolies on the claims that both "wash whitest" and to which the Labour policy document seeks to add, that Labour adds "brightness to whiteness," surely to continue the metaphor this is the lowest ebb "Tide" politics has reached.

To paraphrase another detergent caption, for the working class only the cleansing Socialist policy can wash the dirt out of politics which the others can't.

E. W.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Many branches are continuing to hold discussions after Branch business, and this is proving most successful. Bloomsbury, Camberwell, Chelsea, Islington, Lewisham, Paddington, are a few of the Branches which regularly hold discussions. The Swansea and Mitcham Groups also have interesting discussions. This activity is attracting sympathisers to branch meetings, and the informal atmosphere is appreciated by visitors and Party members alike. The next discussion at Bloomsbury Branch is on January 1st, the subject being "Are the Capitalists Cynical?" Comrade Kilner will open. The following discussion will be on February 4th at 8.30 p.m., Conway Hall, North Room.

The Socialist Party of Ireland is holding at least two meetings in mid-January, and arrangements are in hand for a speaker from London to visit them to address one of these meetings. Our Comrades in Ireland are few in number, but they carry on a great amount of propaganda and with these meetings in January they hope to create greater interest in the Party case. This they should do if hard work is justly rewarded.

Paddington Branch is making sure that their meeting at Denison House on Sunday, March 15th, is going to be



successful. There is a preliminary reminder elsewhere in this issue and the branch members are anxious that Comrades advertise the meeting well. More details will be given in the February and March "STANDARDS," but meanwhile this note will enable members to book the date.

Have you obtained any new subscribers for the SOCIALIST STANDARD for 1959? There is still time, and a subscription form is in this issue.

P. H.

Flags of Convenience and the Boycott

THE International Transport Workers' Federation four-day boycott of "Panlibhonco" shipping began on 1st December. The West German Unions, although they originally voted for the ban, did not in fact support it, following upon a Court award of £30,000,000 damages in a strike case just settled. The Italian Unions refused to take part, and the boycott was ineffective in France where the great majority of the dockers belong to a Communist-dominated union not affiliated to the I.T.F. In Holland, where two-thirds of the dockers are non-union members, the situation was confused. An Amsterdam Court granted port employers an injunction to restrain the unions from joining the boycott. In Rotterdam, however, the Court refused to grant an injunction and the boycott was observed. Japanese supported the boycott in principle, but did not take active measures.

But union members in Britain, the East and Gulf Coasts of U.S., Australia, Belgium and Scandinavia, and in several other countries throughout the world, and the International Petroleum Workers' Federation, supported the boycott, and by the last day 192 ships were idle.

What is it all about?

Many people have become bemused and bewildered and consequently not particularly bothered, because, in spite of the volume of discussion on flags of convenience in the newspapers until the recent boycott, the concern has been regarding the advantages or otherwise from the ship owners' point of view. The recent action by the unions has come as a surprise element of the situation.

Panamanian registration of ships was first invoked in the days of American prohibition to enable liquor to be sold to passengers aboard liners. It was not long

before other advantages became known in other countries. Registration was a simple and inexpensive procedure for foreigners; there was no taxation of profits, and owners were not subject to a variety of rules and regulations such as those which had accumulated in maritime countries over the centuries. Some of these were advances won at the cost of great sacrifices by the seamen in the class-struggle with the owners for better conditions and pay. Post-war currency restrictions in the non-Panlibhonco countries have been an additional factor. Above all, American shipowners, by registering ships in Panama, were able to avoid the obligation to ship American crews at (by European standards) much higher wages.

The man who bought the Bank at Monte Carlo

Some of the "Flag of Convenience" owners are public characters and are frequently in the news. Mr. Onassis, owner or controller of a fleet worth an estimated US\$300 million, is one of them. According to *Time* (19th January, 1953) Onassis lunched with Prince Rainier several times and bought him a 137 ft. diesel yacht. The directors of the Casino were kept out of the Palace gates by royal carabinieri and they resigned to make room for Onassis' representatives. The Casino had been losing money and the Prince was looking for new capital amounting to US\$1,000,000. Onassis planned to register ships in Monaco after moving his offices into the Casino building.

Pictures from Ships

His brother-in-law, Mr. Niarchos, also a millionaire shipowner, is another character sometimes in the news. A fairly recent Tate Gallery exhibition of Mr. Niarchos'

pictures gave pleasure to a vast public. He has bought originals of Renoir girls, Degas dancers, Gauguin Tahitians and Van Gogh landscapes at prices which run into tens of thousands. Toulouse-Lautrec's *Aristide Bruant* cost him £22,000; Renoir's *Mosque at Algiers*, £24,000; Van Gogh's small *Thistles* £16,000.

But manoeuvring with "Flags of Convenience" is not Mr. Niarchos' only occupation—buying pictures such as these is another. For those with American incomes can spend 30 per cent. of their income, tax free, on works of art, provided they are destined for a museum. And during his lifetime he can enjoy them in his own home. Obviously it is more attractive to spend £50,000 on a picture like Renoir's *Girl in a Plumed Hat* than to hand the money over to the Inland Revenue. The museum get the pictures when he dies, but he could not take them with him, anyway.

Patriotism—for workers only

For the workers, patriotism is held up as one of the greatest of the virtues, and countless war memorials throughout the world pay tribute to the effectiveness of this teaching. Surely it must be for *the workers* that the poem, "My country, 'tis of thee . . . Land where my fathers died . . ." is applicable, for millions of workers have been maimed or killed following the dictates of their ruling-classes. This recalls the story of the monkey who used the cat's paw to pull his chestnuts out of the fire. But in the case of the Panlibhonco shipowners it seems to be a case of rather "Don't do as I do, but do as I tell you", for these characters seem intent on finding out ways of not paying taxes to not merely their native country, but to any government at all. How misled are such workers who risk life and limb fighting to protect, or extend the property of their employers, when they themselves own nothing worth fighting for.

The I.T.F. and the Boycott

A statement from the International Transport Workers' Federation says that the boycott has two main objectives:—

"Firstly, to draw the attention of governments to the problem and to protest against their inactivity on it.

"Secondly, to secure properly-regulated wages and working conditions on *all* ships flying flags of convenience. We would agree that conditions on board many such ships not under trade union agreements are no worse than on most European-operated ships, and in some cases are even better. But this is largely due to the campaign which the I.T.F. has carried on during the past ten years. There is, in any case, no guarantee that these standards will be maintained, because the crews have no trade union protection at present. Nor do they enjoy the security of employment or the benefits of social legislation which are generally to be found in the traditional maritime countries. What we are trying to do is in fact a straightforward trade union job, the kind of job which unions in all civilized countries have accepted as part of their normal function."

The Statement later on says:—

"A further very vital aspect of this situation is the question of national defence in time of international emergency. How, for example, can any country claim to exercise effective control over ships which fly the flag of another nation? This is, in fact, a complete negation of the concept of national maritime sovereignty. In any case, as past emergencies have shown only too clearly, the real factor in exercising control over vessels is not their ownership or country of registration, but their crew. Here we would stress that Panlibhonco ships have become a haven for politically undesirable seafarers and others; consequently there can be no guarantee as to how such crews would act in an emergency situation.

"The I.T.F. has never adopted such a narrow-minded attitude and has no intention of doing so now. Our campaign is not based solely on the interests of the seafarers, but on those of the community at large—which are equally threatened."

Apparently these workers are more patriotic than the shipowners themselves.

Greek shipowners have accused British, Scandinavian and Dutch shipping interests of having inspired the boycott and the Greek Shipowners' Union, acting on behalf of their co-operation committee of London threatened to lay up ships throwing their crews out of work. About 10 million tons of Greek shipping sails under the flags of Liberia, Panama and Honduras. Almost all the crews on them are Greek.

The owners' declaration said:—

"It would be obvious to all by now that this boycott . . . is simply one more manifestation of the hostility of certain shipping interests towards their competitors." Greek shipowners, the declaration went on, already had to face the bitter campaign by owners in the so-called traditional maritime nations, who were frustrated over bureaucratic restrictions and heavy operating costs in their own countries. The I.T.W.F. was inspired by British interests trying to blackmail flags of convenience to give advantage to British and Norwegian shipping which was not threatened by eventual repetition of the boycott." (*Times*, 2nd December, 1958.)

The *Daily Mail* (5th December, 1958) published a feature article written by Mr. Niarchos, who on behalf of the Niarchos Group refuted in detail the charges of the I.T.F. After dealing with working conditions aboard his ships he said this:—

"If international federations of unions are to become concerned in matters of international business and relations between nations, they are assuming a new empire-building role far removed from their original mission of furthering the true interests of their dues-paying members . . . and the handling of genuine union problems will be completely obscured."

Trade Union action

Trade union action to maintain or improve workers' living standards commends itself to any Socialist, and particularly when it is international action, for this implies a greater degree of working-class solidarity, and it is this factor which is so encouraging about the boycott. The Capitalist press expressed satisfaction that the boycott was only partial, but it must also be remembered that much of the support which the various workers gave was not to advance their own sectional interests, but that of the seamen generally. The *Financial Times* in its editorial (2nd December, 1958) said of the boycott:—

"It is also international and this use of the international strike weapon could be a precedent for much more undesirable exertions of trade union power."

We couldn't agree more, but, of course, although a boycott may or may not serve one section of the Capitalist class, working-class solidarity is liable to be undesirable for the Capitalist class generally.

F. OFFORD.

"A PROPERTY-OWNING DEMOCRACY"

But when P.E.P. published a report on this problem in 1952, the authors expressed the view that more than two-thirds of the population could not afford to buy their own houses on even the most generous terms. (*Sunday Times*, November 2nd, 1958.)

THE FUTURE OF THE SUDAN

COMMENTARY on the recent *coup d'état* in the Sudan has been curiously limited. It is true that the seizure of power in mid-November by a military council was accomplished in unspectacular bloodless fashion; nevertheless, the overthrow of a government in so close proximity to the centre of recent world troubles ought, one thinks, to have made bigger news. Even the serious informational papers had not much to say. The *Observer* provided only 26 column-inches about it in two issues and the *Manchester Guardian*, though it gave most of all, did so largely in reference to the northern cotton market.

The reason is not hard to see. Events are quickly told, but the commentary on them must depend chiefly on their consequences—and the consequences of the Sudan happening are not yet apparent. The new government is politically unrevealed so far, and what fresh relationship may arise between the Sudan and the western world is still unknown. General Abboud may take the stage as a second Nasser to be hissed for a foxy schemer from the galleries of the west, or contrariwise as the golden-haired lad bearing freedom's banner. For *that*, we must wait and see.

What is much more to the point is to ask what has happened and why. Briefly to go over recent events, the *coup* was announced on November 17th. The coalition government of Abdullah Khalil was known to be on its way out. Its two factors, the People's Democratic Party and the Umma party, were in disagreement over the Sudan's relations with Egypt: mainly, it is said, over fresh Egyptian plans for the Aswan High Dam made in the light of the proffered Russian loan. The new régime, in which General Abboud holds supreme power, announced itself as working "in the interest of no party or group" but aiming at "the elimination of incompetence and corruption among politicians in general," with a hint about knowing the way to good terms with Egypt (*Manchester Guardian*, 18th November, 1958).

This has come in the face not only of Egyptian pressure, however, but also of economic troubles. The Sudan is a cotton-producing country. Eighty per cent. of its exports are of cotton (largely to Lancashire), and the present condition of the world's cotton markets has meant a huge unsaleable surplus, stated by the *Observer* correspondent in Khartoum to include 48,000 tons left over from 1957. Under the Anglo-Egyptian régime big sums were invested in irrigation projects and plans for government-assisted peasant production to develop the cotton yield, so that the Sudan is dependent always on world prices for its staple crop. Before the war the Sudanese people were considered better-off than the natives of most other colonized parts of Africa; now the country's economy is in a critical phase without much prospect of improvement.

The growth and the varied outlooks of the Sudanese political parties have come partly through economic development and partly from the patterns set by the fifty-eight years of joint British and Egyptian rule which ended in 1956. The history of this companionate rule is in fact a series of quarrels over who should really rule a country which bordered the Suez canal and enclosed

the upper Nile. The existence of pro-British and pro-Egyptian parties comes from this period, when each of the dual rulers tried to create its own body of support in the Sudan. The Umma is descended from the Mahdi's followers who drove out Turco-Egyptian rule and is thus traditionally anti-Egyptian; the P.D.P., on the other hand, is an offshoot of the National Unity Party which has always seen advantage in alliance with Egypt.

As in all other colonial countries, a powerful vein of nationalism appeared with the vista of economic independence that the development schemes afforded. (It is an irony of imperialism that the leaders of nationalist movements are produced by the imperialists' own needs for officials, technical assistants and the rest of the new "middle classes" which this stage of economic progress must turn out.) All the Sudanese parties, including the "Socialist" National Unity Party and the Anti-Imperialist Front (the Communists) are shot through with this strong desire for "national independence," and the new military government lost no time in stating that it did not differ from them. The day after assuming power, General Abboud said his régime would "accept anything it considered in the interests of the country, but would reject anything which might harm its independence and sovereignty."

The truth is, however, that the Sudan cannot be independent except in the nominal sense of not being any other nation's colony. The change which has just taken place was forced by external conditions and happenings, and the policies of the Abboud government—even the vague ones which were immediately announced—are bound to be determined almost wholly from outside. The resuscitation of the limping Sudanese economy depends on more than anything else at the present time, the government's negotiations with Egypt and (a not-unconnected matter) its success in playing-off America and Russia to attract loans from either or both. On November 30th the Foreign Minister announced that "foreign capital without strings would be welcomed," and that his government had already taken 15 million dollars' worth of foreign exchange from America (*Manchester Guardian*, 1st December, 1958).

The outstanding questions between Egypt and the Sudan are the Aswan Dam project and the frontiers. To the Egyptian government the Dam, with its promise of irrigation and electric power, is vital for maintaining the economy (with its already desperate population problem) and making the economy maintain the army. Now, with the promise of Russian aid, it appears within reach, but there must first be agreement with the government of Sudan. From Egypt's point of view a compliant Sudan would be the answer; Mr. Khalil, indeed, alleged in London last September that there were forces working to this end within the Sudanese government. For the Sudan, on the other hand, agreement can only mean a share in the benefits of the Dam.

What of the Sudanese people? Here, when one asks this question, stands forth a remarkable example of the stupidity and cruelty of commercialism and nationalism. For the Sudanese people are desperately, pitifully

poor. In nearly three years of "independence" they have been governed by the National Unity "Socialists," a coalition, and now the military—and none has made a scrap of difference to their poverty. It is worth pointing out that the Egyptian people have had the same experience: they were poverty-stricken under fat Farouk, and are equally so under Nasser. What have the political pretensions of their government done for them?

Assuming, however, that the building of the new High Dam would lighten these peoples' burdens, the approaches to it have been made entirely in terms of not those but the rulers' interests. First, there has to be money—obvious enough, but in itself a condemnation of the entire modern world where the need is pressing, the materials and labour plentiful, yet the fulfilment must wait on the djinn of this idiotic Aladdin's lamp. When it was offered to Egypt by the West, the offer was based and then foundered on considerations of political advantage in the cold war. Now it appears again from Russia, with similar considerations in view (while a team of "American aid experts" descends on the Sudan).

Who, then cares about the Sudanese people? It is not that this or the preceding governments, or the government of Egypt, is deliberately negligent; on the contrary, it would be to the rulers' benefit to have the support of prosperous and satisfied populations. The Sudan, however, has been pulled into the whirlpool of Capitalist world politics. From a colony in the once-majestic scheme of British imperialism, developed to make its cotton contribution to British trade, it has become another nation forced to struggle for advantage in the pitiless

dogfights of world markets and big politics.

The future of the Sudan is bound up in the future of the world. Economic development and political contact have opened the windows for this country on the amenities of modern civilization, hence the nationalism, the reformist politics, and the anxiety to benefit by "getting in" on the bigger powers' calculated generosity. Ideally, the Sudanese people stand to gain in every way from contact and interchange—in a word, "progress." But modern civilization is far from ideal. Whatever progress is made will be directed at furthering only the interests of the property-owners of the Sudan: the important thing to recognize about the Abboud régime is that, whatever is said about ending corruption and the rest, this is its prime aim. However good a proportion of the High Dam potentialities is obtained for the Sudan, the sad fact is that the Dam is really wanted as a source of power and profits for the commercial class.

There is no sanity in this. It is not only in the Sudan, but everywhere; this small flare-up illumines a little more of what is going on all over the world. Nationalism and the political game are impediments to genuine productive development, standing in the way of what could be done by man for man—but they are parts of the superstructure of Capitalist society, which limits human activity to what will yield the best profits. The real trouble for the people of the Sudan is the profit system, and the only future which can hold anything worth while for them—and for everyone else—is Socialism all over the world.

ROBERT COSTER.

THE PASSING SHOW

The Optimists

How times change! For a dozen years after the war successive Governments, Labour and Conservative, exhorted the coalminers to sweat and strain and push up coal production at all costs. The National Coal Board regularly took advertising space in the papers to tell us all how much the miners were earning, and to insist that never in our lifetime could there be too much coal. The miners, they said, had an assured job for as long as they wanted. Unemployment, dismissals, the dole—they were all things of the past. The future could not have been rosier.

Occasionally lonely voices were heard to observe that there is no security under Capitalism: that Capitalist industry has its booms, but also its slumps: and that the strenuous drive to produce more coal might well lead only to a situation in which there was more coal than people could buy—which would mean the sack for many miners.

But the N.C.B. and all the great parties derided these fears. Much scorn was poured on the "pessimists," who were "living in the past." All these things, it was said, might have been true in Marx's day, but now everything was different. The laws of Capitalist economics, of expansion and recession, had somehow ceased to operate, so we were told. Capitalism in the coalmines was transformed now that it was administered by a state board instead of by the private owners. Many a well-phrased sneer was launched at those who "hadn't moved with the

times," who "sought to apply nineteenth-century theories to twentieth-century conditions," and so on.

The Pay-off

And now, what happens? On December 3rd last the N.C.B. announced that it had too much coal, and that it was going to close thirty-six pits. Between twelve and thirteen thousand miners will be affected. Of these, there can be found no other jobs for four thousand: they will have to "leave the industry." Many of these are in Scotland and Wales, where there is already a high degree of unemployment. Their chances of getting other jobs near their homes must be slight.

So much for the pledges made to the miners that their jobs were secure. So much for those who said that Capitalism in the nineteen-fifties was not at all the same thing as Capitalism in the nineteen-thirties.

Sound Economics

Of course, these sackings are not the fault of the Coal Board. It has too much coal—to sell. If every family had all the coal it needed to keep warm this winter, no doubt the stocks the Coal Board have been accumulating would disappear quickly enough. But the system of society under which we now suffer does not operate like that. Coal is not dug out primarily to burn: it is dug out to sell. If people can't buy it, even though they may want it to put on their fires, then, in

the language of the Capitalist economists, there is "too much coal." And when the Coal Board cannot sell all the coal it produces, it simply closes down mines, and sacks miners. In this it does exactly the same as would the board of Tate and Lyle's, or the Imperial Chemical Industries, or any other private concern, in the same circumstances. Coal is a Capitalist industry just as much as sugar or chemicals.

Dr. Attlee's Remedy

Back in the brave days of 1945, the Labourites used to claim that nationalisation was Socialism. Some of the simpler ones still do. But even these ardent souls must have been given a chill by the latest news. As for the Labour Party spokesman in the Commons discussion on the announcement, Mr. Robens, he had no explanation of how an industry now dismissing four thousand men could be called "Socialist" (*The Times*, 4th December, 1958). True, he pointed out that the losses on imported coal had been unfairly thrust by the Government upon the Coal Board, although strictly speaking they were nothing to do with the Board at all: and that apart from this fiddling with the accounts, the Coal Board had made a surplus of forty million pounds in its ten years of operation. This argument, while quite justified, only goes to show that the coal industry is now a profitable state Capitalist concern.

The moral of this story is that Capitalism doesn't change merely because it is twenty years older.

Indiscipline

On December 4th there were two illuminating items side by side in the *Manchester Guardian*. The first was about the recent strike of the Argentine railwaymen for better pay. The Argentine Government's answer to this was to mobilise the railwaymen under military law, and court-martial two hundred of the strikers for "indiscipline." The strikers were sent to jail for terms from five days to fifteen months.

Workers who go on strike are merely acting on the fundamental assumptions upon which our society is based. Everyone has something to sell, and everyone tries to sell it for the highest price obtainable. The great majority, the workers, have nothing to sell but their labour-power. The small minority, the Capitalists, sell the goods and services the workers produce for them. When a chain of baker's shops put up the price of bread from sevenpence a loaf to eightpence, all that has happened is that the baking firm has gone on strike as regards the sale of

loaves at sevenpence, and is now demanding eightpence before it will sell. When workers demand a rise in pay from seven pounds to eight pounds a week, they are not refusing to work, for that would mean greater privation: they are simply putting up the price of a week's labour-power from seven pounds to eight pounds. They are just as much available at the new price of eight pounds a week as loaves are at the new price of eightpence.

It all depends who does it

What the Argentine Government has done, by jailing those workers who refuse to work for the old price, is to introduce a policy of forced labour at a forced wage. The most the railwaymen can be guilty of is a breach of contract: and under the Capitalist's own law this is only a civil wrong, for which a defendant can be made to pay damages, but not sent to prison. But apparently the Argentine ruling class doesn't consider itself bound by pre-existing law when profits are at stake.

When evidence comes through of forced labour in the Soviet Union, how horrified are the rulers of Britain and America! What denunciations are made of the Russian tyranny! But not a word has yet been said of the forced labour in the Argentine. The reason is not hard to find. The Argentine Government, with all the other South American rulers, is the close ally of what is called "the free world." In the column next to the news about the Argentine railway strike, the *Manchester Guardian* remarked (about the United Nations debate on Cyprus):—

"At this point the mute allies of Britain thought wistfully of the Latin Americans: the only reinforcements always available to the Anglo-Americans in a jam, but only to be recruited at the bidding of the United States, who had sought and cherished a back seat in the grandstand. Mr. Lodge was faced with the unpleasant alternative of risking the victory of the Indian resolution or mobilising the Latin Americans behind an opposing resolution, and so enraging the Greeks."

There we have it. The Latin Americans, including the Argentines, can always be relied on to back the American Government in world affairs. No wonder the American and British rulers have nothing to say about the denial of human rights in Argentina. But what a commentary it makes on the claim of the British and American Capitalists to be fighting for freedom and democracy, when they openly accept the support of a country where the ruling class introduces forced labour to safeguard its profits.

ALWYN EDGAR.

WAR OF NERVES IN CANADA

DURING the latter part of November much concern was expressed in official and other quarters over the strike of railway shop workers that was to have started on December 1st. No concern at all was expressed over the fact that the workers had been led around by the nose for a year prior to their decision to strike.

The railway unions had expressed their willingness to settle on the terms of a government conciliation board award which provided something less than half the amount originally demanded. In announcing the strike decision, F. H. Hall, chairman of the unions' negotiating

committee said: "The pattern of recent years has been a gradual falling behind industrial wages generally, and even the recommended increase will not halt this deterioration."

In spite of this, a war of nerves was carried on against the workers. Politicians shook their heads at the potentially sad consequences to the nation, press editorials spoke learnedly about the dangers of inflation, preachers expressed the hope that moderation would triumph, business men talked about being priced out of

(Continued on page 9)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

JANUARY



1959

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

MEMORABLE HAPPENINGS IN 1958

THE events recorded by sensation-seeking journalists are not always the most important in the long run, and some of the happenings in 1958 that will do much to change the thoughts of large numbers of people will not find a place in calendars.

The year 1958 will be memorable because it will have forced a number of workers to look again at some ideas that have been blindly accepted for a quarter of a century or more. The first is the idea that State ownership of an industry and employment by a government department or public authority would rid the world of many evils and hardships. But coal miners, and railway and bus workers must have been doing some hard thinking during the past 12 months. They have found themselves forced to strike or threaten to strike over wages, just as they used to do when their employers were private companies. They have had to face the problem of what is called "redundancy"; there are more of them than the employer needs, and there will be fewer jobs for them in future. Hundreds of miles of railway line have been closed, and train services cancelled, bus routes have been thinned out, and now there are thousands of miners who are going to be hit by the closing of pits that don't pay. That is the link between all these developments—the mine, the railway route, the bus service, that "does not pay" that doesn't show a profit, has to be shut down.

The idea of nationalising the mines, railways and bus services, was that nationalisation would get rid of the old profit-seeking motive. The workers concerned should think this over and remember that the S.P.G.B. alone of the political parties warned them years ago that they would be wasting their time backing nationalisation.

**DENISON HOUSE, VICTORIA, SUNDAY, MARCH 15TH
BOOK THIS DATE**

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD January, 1959

Of course, it is not only the nationalised industries that have been affected. The falling off of production and decline of sales have hit privately owned textiles just as hard as the State-owned railways and mines, and the textile industry presents us with a harsh example of another illusion that ran parallel with the nationalisation campaign and was held by the same people. This was the illusion, prominent after World War II, that things were not going to be as they had been in the depressed 'thirties. No more would there be unemployment and the dole queue; for those "in the know" had learned how to plan for full employment.

It is reported that the Lancashire cotton towns are presenting petitions to Parliament, soliciting help because of the decline of the trade. One of the men they ought to single out for a hearing is Mr. Herbert Morrison, for it was he who, as Lord President of the Council in the Labour government, promised Lancashire that it would never happen again. It was in a speech he made at Manchester on 17th April, 1948, when he addressed 6,000 managers and workers from the Lancashire mills. We quote from a report of his speech published in the *Sunday Despatch* (18th April, 1948):—

"Mr Morrison dismissed as a ghost from the past Lancashire's fear that slump must follow boom, the fear that the cotton people 'might work themselves out of a job.' Last year the whole output of the industry was only 5,000 tons more than home consumption before the war. For years to come, the home market alone would probably absorb nearly all that Lancashire turned out last year."

Mr. Morrison said:—

"Even if the rest of the world was only half as hungry for Lancashire cotton goods as it is today, you'd still be perfectly safe as an industry to go all out. If you make the right stuff at the right price you're in a safe position as far ahead as any man can see."

Much the same kind of optimism marked speeches being made in the other large branch of textiles, the woollen trade. Major (now Lord) Milner was telling Leeds workers of "a great future for the Leeds clothing industry" and Dame Ann Loughlin told them "they should be able to capture the world market in women's wear." The occasion was the opening of a new factory. (*Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30th September, 1946.) After 1947 the textile industry as a whole did go on expanding, but inevitably now it has struck the depression that was not going to happen and from a top figure of about a million the numbers in the industry have dropped to 840,000, of whom 50,000 are unemployed.

Unemployment for all industries is now on the way to 600,000, a figure that does not take account of the many who have lost their jobs but do not register as unemployed, and though the government professes to be sure that things will get better "in the Spring" they have yet to explain the whys and wherefores of what has already happened. What has happened to their supposed control of the employment situation and their readiness to step in at short notice to head off depression?

The Labour Party and the Tory Party, the latter with its belief in managing "full employment" and the former believing as well in nationalisation, can look back at 1958 as a year in which their theories were demonstrated to be unsound and useless to the workers. The S.P.G.B. alone can justifiably claim that it predicted both failures.

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WAR OF NERVES—contd. from page 7

the world's markets, and everything possible was said and done to convince the workers that efforts to protect their living standard are not to be treated lightly

Meanwhile, the government organised a gathering of provincial government representatives and held "hearings" on the advisability of allowing the freight rate increase which the railway companies insisted they must have to meet the demands of the workers. These hearings could have gone on for months, but they were hurried along by the strike deadline, much to the undoubted irritation of the participants. A few days before the strike was to have started the railways were awarded their freight increase and came to terms with the workers.

In prolonging the dispute beyond the expressed willingness of the workers to accept the small change awarded by the conciliation board, the Government no doubt, had an eye to the future. That it hoped for a settlement more favourable to the employers is doubtful, for the unions had repeatedly stated they would not accept less. But another day is coming and the Government no doubt hopes that workers whose nerves are frayed by long

months of "negotiations" and offensive propaganda will be less ready to put forward a determined position when the present contract expires. May the actual response be quite different!

In the midst of the railway "crisis" the C.C.F., in the person of Harold Winch C.C.F., M.P., from Vancouver, demanded that Prime Minister Diefenbaker be brought back to Canada to take personal charge. The prime minister was on a world tour.

This piece of grandstanding might have provided some comic relief, except for the unpleasant fact that antics of this kind tend to further the attitude that ruling class representatives can approach a conflict between workers and masters from an impartial and altruistic position. Mr. Winch is supposed to be one of the better informed members of the C.C.F. and ought to know this.

However, viewed from the standpoint of the uninformed and impressionable worker, Mr. Winch's contribution might have been impressive, except for the fact that his own leader, Mr. Coldwell, was also galivanting in the far places.

J. M.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Concentration of Capital

"For while on the one hand the concentration of the separate Capitalist concerns into fewer hands is proceeding, on the other hand with the development in the division of labour the mutual dependence of the seemingly independent undertakings is growing. . . . This mutual

dependence, however, becomes continually more a one-sided dependence of the small Capitalists upon the larger ones. . . . Many Capitalists having the appearance of independence, yet subservient to others, and many Capitalist concerns that appear to be independent, are in reality merely branches of one huge Capitalist undertaking."

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, January, 1909.)

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

The Conflict Defined

THE American Civil War was a savage affair. It lasted for four years and it caused the deaths of 600,000 of the young men of America. It wrote such names as Gettysburg, Bull Run and Shiloh into the history of human conflict.

It was a war, we were told, over slavery. If you were humane, liberal and democratic you fought for the North, against slavery. If you were brutal, despotic and contemptuously aristocratic you fought for the South, for slavery. If there are any legends of history which for their own sakes are worth preserving, this is not one of them.

In truth, the Northern States had little use for slavery. Their agriculture produced anything from lumber to livestock, for which they needed workers who were knowledgeable, adaptable and freely moving. Such workers were also needed by the modern industry, which was developing in the North. In contrast, the South, with its warmer climate, raised settled crops like indigo, sugar, tobacco—and cotton. It was profitable to work these crops by ignorant slaves, under a few overseers. This difference in economic needs was at the root of the clash over slavery.

The first negro slaves came to America at the beginning of the 17th century. Before this, workers were employed under indentures—and they moved on to settle

new lands when their term expired. This was not a convenient system for the Southern planters, who needed a settled labour force. Even so, they did not immediately use the Negroes as slaves; at first they were treated as indentured servants (although they had no indentures) and when their term ran out they often themselves bought another Negro. (It is interesting that the recognition of this right was the first legal sanction of slavery in America). When the planters realised that the Negroes had no legal rights they dropped the indenture formalities and openly bought and worked them as slaves. This was the stimulus to the West Indian slave mart, with its history of cold-blooded cruelty.

Slavery takes root

When slavery was not economical the white colonists tried to abolish it, but were often prevented by the English slave-running interests. Any anti-slavery movement based on moral grounds, without good commercial reasons, was doomed, as in the State of Georgia, which banned slavery when it was founded only to see the law ignored and evaded. The reason was that the Southern economy was being boosted by the demand from Europe for fresh foods and new materials; cotton was of increasing importance and the planters would not allow it to be disturbed. The invention in 1793 of the Whitney Cotton Gin (which automatically combed and separated the

cotton), stimulated production and increased the demand for slaves. The cotton plantations spread from the Old South (Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky) into the Deep South (Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi), whose red clay was ideal for this crop. The Old South traded slaves into the new plantations—in 1836 Virginia alone sent 40,000. The Negroes did not like their new conditions—the song *Carry Me Back to Old Virginia* is the lament of the slave who had been moved from the comparatively genteel Old South to the harshness of the Deep South. This area became heavily dependent on its cotton, and its pro-slavery sentiment became that much more fanatical and its planters that much more brutal. This attitude, although outdated, lingers on in the Southern States. It causes the riots in places like Clinton and Little Rock.

As we can see from a few dry figures, the 17th and 18th centuries saw a remarkable growth in the American Negro slave population. Over the 20 years up to 1671 the white population of Georgia increased from 15,000 to 40,000 and its Negroes from 300 to 2,000. In 1760 the North American population was about 1½ million, 300,000 of them slaves; at this time the average slave holding in Virginia was 10 (largest 250). When the war started in 1861 there were about four million slaves in the Confederacy and some 230,000 free Negroes.

It was during the first half of the 19th century that the Southerners' aristocratic pretensions became so objectionable, with the notion that they represented the gracious, hospitable elements of American society, whilst the Northerners stood for all that was brash and cheap. The uniformity of productive (that is, agricultural) methods and organisation of property ownership tended to unite the South politically and gave it an important—possibly over-important—influence in American politics. On the other hand the North was comparatively disunited, with many economic factions each having its own

functional and property rights. In the 1850's the Capitalists of the North were stricken by a financial crisis and this, with the usual depression of the workers' conditions and the greed of the industrialists, strengthened the Southerner's conviction in his superiority. (The romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott went down well with this conviction!) Inevitably, the white men in the South looked on the Negro as a docile, dim-witted, sub-human; even the poor whites tried to get on the band wagon. Although they lived in appalling poverty on their tiny plots, trying to compete with the big plantations, they had their pride. Their skin—when they washed it—was white; so they could join the pro-slavery chorus.

Slave Empire

If the poor whites had little reason to get on their high horse, the wealthy Southern planters could offer strong justification for their attitude. They had invested good money in their Negroes, which they would lose if the slaves were freed. They wanted to expand the slave-lands into a great empire to take in the new lands in the West, Cuba, Central America and even Brazil. This empire, they thought, would supply the food and raw materials which the developing industries of Europe needed. But the Northern industries also had designs on the West and it was here that the conflict was defined. To win their point, the South rigged their elections, sending numbers of representatives to Congress based on population returns which included slaves who were not allowed to vote. They became more and more aggressive and impatient of the interference from the government. As the quarrel grew fiercer, one compromise after another was tried, but all failed. The Southern States wanted the right to run their affairs as they liked. And they were getting ready to fight for it.

(To be continued.)

JACK LAW.

BOOK REVIEW

FOCUS ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Focus, by Arthur Miller (Ace Books, 2s. 6d.), is that brilliant playwright's first and only essay in the novel form. As with all his work, it is an impassioned tirade against a social evil—in this case, race prejudice.

Although the novel is ostensibly concerned with anti-semitism, the moral is clearly intended to apply to all forms of racial intolerance, as where the victim of anti-semitic bullying refuses to help a Puerto Rican woman who screams for help in the night. "She could take care of herself because she was used to this sort of treatment Puerto Ricans were, he knew."

Its principal character is Lawrence Newman, a less-than-ordinary middle-aged American who looks like a Jew, though he isn't one, and is ill-treated for it. Weak, conventional and wife-ridden, he has, however, a tiny spark of dignity and character; the story is of the development of this spark.

It leads from Newman's own persecution, to his talks with the victimized Jewish shopkeeper, down to the time when he finds himself side by side with Jews, fighting off thugs who are intent on beating them up. At this moment he throws off his fears and prejudices; he is able to ignore

his wife's pleas to knuckle under, and at last to recognise his kinship with his fellow humans, Jew and gentile, black and white.

The story is told in a compelling and convincing manner, and although one feels the burning indignation of the Jew writing about the wrongs suffered by Jewry, the style never lapses into crudity, over-statement, or tub-thumping. The reader, too, feels indignation building up within him as Newman is subjected to one cruel indignity after another.

If this is an accurate picture of anti-semitism in America, and there is no reason to doubt that it is, then we have a long way to go before society finally eradicates the festering sores of race-hatred, along with its other problems.

Miller vividly portrays the poverty of thought and lack of understanding of those who would blame their poverty and drab lives on a racial minority, and seek to defend their "way of life" by anti-social acts. He clearly indicates that it is not they who are to blame, but rather the nature of the society which throws up these antagonisms and produces the racketeers and demagogues who

foster race hatred to serve their own ends. This is not to say that Miller appreciates the revolutionary nature of the social change required to solve this problem, along with all other social problems.

Nevertheless, it is refreshing to find, among the flood

of paper-backed detective stories, travelogues and war adventures, a book of this kind which deals in a serious way with a serious problem, and at the same time provides an absorbing story of real people in a situation which we can recognise as being true.

A. W. I.

TELEVISION

CREDIT AND DEBIT

Is television worth while? An appalling question, this; but it happens to be the important one. There have always been the disapproving few who would permit it only for education in gloomy authoritarian utopias. Warmly, one would reply that entertainment and fun should be part of life as well.

The awful fact is, however, that the small screen lives and is memorable mainly in its rare instructive moments. Steele of the *Spectator* told his readers that when the paper was dull there was always a purpose in it; on the TV, when the programmes are dull (which is most of the time) there is never a purpose in them at all.

All this is brought to mind by a half-hour which was purposefully educational, and single-handed—certainly unaided in the last four weeks—showed the television to be worth while after all. This was Dr. Bronowski's *New Horizons* account of atoms and energy. Wonderful.

But what's even more wonderful is the thought of this coming into a quarter of a million homes. The casual question here and there, next day, discovers several who were "going to turn it off" and were still drinking in at the end. The adversaries of television should consider this. So, too, should all the snobs and ignoramuses who like to think the working class can understand nothing. Would anyone have conceived, only a short

space of years ago, of the quantum theory being expounded to council-house tenants

That is the credit side. There are debits innumerable, of course. What is more, fresh ones keep appearing. The newest and worst horror is *Keep it in the Family*: the heart turns as heavy as lead to see respectable suburban families being wildly acclaimed and sent home with refrigerators because between five of them they know the names of five poets or six rivers.

The interesting thing, however, is that the producers, compères and general overseers in the rubbish factory from which all this comes belong without exception to what are considered the educated layers. University men preside in panel games which are low, vulgar and humiliating; while in the commercials public-school chaps and men known to public life for their forthright integrity give specious eulogies of advertisers' wares.

The obvious moral is that even the educated will do anything for money. But that leaves one important question unanswered. This is also the group from which all the sneers at working-class "ignorance" come. Granted, the dog Prolus may look unattractive with televisual tins on his tail—but who keeps tying them on?

ROBERT COSTER.

TUPPENCE COLOURED

"I dunno," said Mr. Smith, "every tea time we get bloody rock and roll."

"You was young once, dad," said his sixteen-year-old son, Bill, putting on another record.

"I was never that young," snapped Mr. Smith, "and there's Mary gawping out of the window as usual. If she spent as much time on her homework as she does that, she might have a chance in the scholarship."

"Oh, alright, dad," began Mary; then she broke off, "My! there's Maggie coming up the steps with one of those dark blokes. Gosh! he looks a real smasher."

"What, another one!" said Bill with a grin. "Maggie certainly likes her men colourful."

"Shut up," said his father. "Listen, Daisy"; he addressed his wife almost accusingly, "This has got to stop. It was only last year, she wasn't seventeen then, and she got in with that darkie who she used to bring to the door. Then there was that Jamaican she met at the firm's dance, to say nothing about that West Indian she brought home one Saturday night. It's a bit thick, you know, and it's about time we put our foot down."

"Well, I don't suppose she's going to ask this one up," said Mrs. Smith mildly.

"She'd better not," said Mr. Smith, darkly. "I've

nothing against coloured people, but black and white don't mix, it's not natural. Besides, if they must leave their own country they can at least keep themselves to themselves when they're in someone else's country. The way some of 'em make up to our girls makes me sick."

"Worse than the Yanks, dad?" asked Bill.

"Besides," said Mr. Smith ignoring the remark, "I don't want all the neighbours gossiping. What with Fred Price living in the same house and working at my place, it will be all over the firm. I bet Mrs. Price is looking out of the window."

At that moment there was two sharp knocks on the street door.

"Bell's out of order again," said Bill, "I bet Maggie's worn her finger down, pressing it. Shall I go and open the door?"

"No, I'll answer it," said Mr. Smith.

"Don't make a scene, dad," said Mrs. Smith, but Mr. Smith was already out of the room.

Mr. Smith opened the door, and in the porch with Maggie stood a coloured young man about 25 years of age, dressed in a suit that might have cost anything from £50, upwards.

Then, as Mr. Smith looked, into his line of vision,

just beyond his 1938 Austin seven, stood a big 1958 Jaguar.

Mr. Smith felt a little warm and embarrassed.

The young man spoke in a well modulated voice. "I have come back with your daughter, perhaps I ought to explain," he hesitated for a moment.

Mr. Smith rushed in, "Don't explain on the doorstep, come in, we've just made a cup of tea."

"Very well," said the young man, still a little hesitant, "I will just lock my car."

"What! Got rid of him already," said his son, as Mr. Smith bounded into the room. "That was quick work."

"Get a cup and saucer from the best set," said Mr. Smith to his wife. "Christ, look at this place, always looks like a pigsty."

"But I thought"—began the astonished Mrs. Smith.

"This bloke's different," interrupted Mr. Smith, "you wait till you see him. Actually he's not really dark, but sort of, off white, like a lot of high class Indians are."

At that moment there came a tap on the door. Mr. Smith ushered the dark young man in. The family stared. Nobody noticed Maggie as she came slowly into the room and sat down.

Mrs. Smith handed the young man a cup of tea. Mr. Smith offered him a slice of his wife's home-made cake, which he graciously declined.

"Mr. Ram Singh," said Maggie a little awkwardly.

"Not the racehorse owner's son?" said Mr. Smith

in somewhat awed tones.

"I am afraid so," smiled the dark young man.

"One of his horses is running in the big race tomorrow," said Mr. Smith, rather proud of his racing lore.

"Yes," said the young man, "and if I may offer a tip off the record, my father thinks it will win."

"My!" said Mary, from the window, quite unabashed. "Never knew Maggie had such posh friends."

"I haven't," said Maggie. "I have never spoken to Mr. Singh in my life before today, although he has a suite of offices in our block of offices. You see, I was crossing the road and I slipped and gave my ankle a bit of twist. Good luck, Mr. Singh swerved or I wouldn't be here to tell the tale. I was going to tell dad downstairs, but he rushed off before I had a chance. So," concluded Mary, "Mr. Singh kindly bought me home."

"Oh," said Mr. Smith.

Mr. Singh handed round some Turkish cigarettes and after a few general remarks he finished his cup of tea and courteously made his departure.

"Who'd have thought of having the son of Jam. Ram Singh up for a cup of tea," said Mr. Smith to the office staff, next morning. "You could have knocked me down with a feather, and don't forget to back his old man's horse. You know, I believe he'd taken a bit of fancy to Maggie. Must say, he had no side, quite the gentleman, treated us like equals."

E. W.

CHARITY

A GIANT activity prevails in modern society, one that approaches people in their places of employment, stops them on street corners, enters their homes, reaches them through the mail and over the telephone, appeals to them from the press and pulpit and over radio and television, one that in fact overlooks no means of making its presence and its wants known.

This activity is carried on in the name of organised charity.

Society in its present form is widely regarded as the only acceptable form of society. Its educational establishments have no alternative to offer and will concede none, even though they recognise that modern society was itself an alternative to a previous form. Its public figures pour scorn on suggestions of change, even though the less ignorant among them will agree that change permeates all things. And the daily press and other agencies of publicity and information deliberately lie about the views of those who advocate change, even though there will be found on their masthead a resolute attachment for truth and progress.

Yet those who find nothing seriously wrong in society, also find nothing seriously wrong about being periodically called upon to make greater appeals to gain greater support for growing numbers of charitable organisations!

Working people produce wealth that must, under the law, be delivered in its entirety to the owners of the places where the wealth is produced. In return, the producers receive sufficient of the needs of life to enable them to continue producing. This condition prevails

through all the years they are capable of working. After that, the ones who are still living, if they qualify under certain government regulations, or if they have subscribed to certain plans, receive a pension entitling them to complete their "twilight years" under conditions of greatly aggravated want.

There are some released from industry who for one reason or another do not qualify for pensions. There are some who die or become maimed or suffer chronic ailments and have families. There are mothers, widows, children, limited in ability or opportunity to help themselves. There is a section of humanity that depends on the rest of humanity for help.

And the modern world, rather than deal simply and directly with this need by providing ready access to the storehouses of goods, as would occur in a sensible world, prefers instead to deliver the great mass of wealth to the privileged minority and tear-drenched appeals for charity to the impoverished majority.

Charity! Sweet charity! Upheld as evidence of the innate goodness of man! Bringing comfort to the bosom of the idle uplifter, salve to the conscience of the brutal exploiter! Providing an outlet for the energies of people who feel that something ought to be done and who might otherwise find time to think about doing things really helpful! Bringing relief to government funds and so, too, to the wealth of the owning class who provide these funds! Deepening the needs of workers by causing them to shoulder burdens of others more victimised by the rottenness of modern society! Degrading and humiliating

those on whom it is bestowed, imposing itself on them as punishment for their sinful and contemptible failure to be useful beasts of burden! Hovering darkly over the mass of mankind, grim reminder of society's benevolence towards all who falter in the field of exploitation!

Indecent, unwholesome charity! Preying on the natural willingness of ordinary people to help one another, even to the extent of depriving their own of needed things! Deliberately pursuing, hounding, intimidating, embarrassing those whose lives are already depressed, consciously designed to depress them further!

Charity! Symbol of a society insistent on preserving the extravagant extremes of wealth and want! Symbol of a society that neither intends nor desires to end the

conditions that ensure its existence! Destined to remain and shame humanity as long as man clings to the property relationships of modern times!

The day will come when the human race will rise above its fawning subservience to an owning class. On that day the means of producing and distributing the needs of life will become the common property of collective man and will be operated for no purpose other than to provide abundance to all the members of society. On that day a Socialist society will be established, bringing an end at last to the exploitation of man by man, together with all the other abominations of Capitalism, including charity.

(Leaflet issued by Socialist Party of Canada.)

THEATRE

THE Theatre Royal, Stratford are at present serving up an intriguing pot pourri of entertainment in the form of a new play by Brendan Behan. The theme of "The Hostage" is the Irish Republican Army, and its action takes place in a dingy boarding house in Dublin. The "Hostage" himself is a young cockney soldier, kidnapped and held captive, with the probability of being shot if an I.R.A. prisoner under sentence of death is not reprieved. The Theatre Royal company put it across with vigour and exuberance. They have that rare quality of acting with the audience rather to it.

A tragedy? Well, hardly. The play is a bawdy, noisy piece of cynicism, often chaotic, even more often extremely funny. Characters are crowded onto the stage without ever overcrowding it. The boarding house and its colourful and at times macabre inhabitants are presided over by a veteran from the playing fields of old England, who at some stage in his career caught a violent aversion to all things English. His caretaker is a survival from the more vigorous bomb-throwing campaigns of yesterday. Morosely humped over a table of Guinness bottles he bemoans that the I.R.A. has lost its excitement now it has become serious and dedicated. Many of the scenes between him and his wife bring an atmosphere of the music hall into the production. There are several gay, ribald songs, sung with great enthusiasm by various members of the cast. The play ends in a babble of noise and frenzied confusion, during which the hostage is accidentally killed by one of the boarders.

Mr. Behan really hits out at the I.R.A. and for good measure takes a sideways swipe at practically everything in his path. He rarely misses. Perhaps that is the trouble with the play. It is easy enough to make fun of peoples' misguided activities, and if that is his motive he does it entertainingly. But his gibing never probes below the surface. Mr. Behan takes his people at face value and holds them before us for our ridicule. Never does he enquire into the emotional feelings that inspire people to join such organisations. Never does he enquire into the reasons for such feelings. He should know them. As a member he once shared their hardships, and presumably their beliefs. The play is no doubt an expression of his disillusionment with the I.R.A.

Brendan Behan may believe that underneath our various national labels we are all just human beings. No one in the boarding house really wants the cockney to be murdered in reprisal for the I.R.A. prisoner. The hostage

even finds the opportunity for a fleeting love affair with the young Irish maid of all work. Nevertheless, we are left with the impression that Nationalism is all great fun as long as it does not get out of hand and lead to armed violence and murder. But this is the usual result of intense Nationalism, and the I.R.A., as well as Cyprus, Malaya and other places, is a grim reminder.

Brendan Behan may have realised the dangerous futility of Nationalistic organisations, but what of the people he writes about? They do not appear to share his disillusionment, and here lies the real tragedy. Nationalism is one of the greatest barriers to the establishment of a society based upon common humanity. It is a pity this side of the subject was excluded from the play. The characters are really caricatures, both tragic and comic, but only the latter side is shown.

On the whole it is rather naive and one wonders what Mr. Behan for all his fiery Nationalistic activities has really learned himself.

J. H.

TO BORIS PASTERNAK, AND OTHERS

Think of those November days that shook the world in 1917,

When power was wrested from feudal czars and blood was spilled

"For freedom's aim" the news proclaimed "the workers' state."

Where men were free to live with dignity and without fear.

Time has passed, how goes it now? Boris Pasternak, You would speak out, but your masters did not wish to hear,

Or wish your fellow men to hear, your criticism of the state of things: In Russia your book was banned.

No shortage in the Western Camp of crocodile tears. (They only use the Nobel Prize to aim against their enemies).

We are not fooled, our masters, too, dearly love their status-quo,

Would ban and bomb, their wealth and power to maintain. For all men must stir, man's noblest cause to gain—

And everywhere this lesson must be taught for it to grow. We know that the freedom and the dignity are still to come,

The state of things we share is still to go.

S. D.

BOOKS

INSIDE RUSSIA TODAY

By John Gunther

The author of this book (published by Hamish Hamilton, 21s.) is too well known to need introduction, and his list of books giving inside information, such as *Inside Europe*, *Inside Asia*, *Inside U.S.A.*, have had wide circulation. We in the Socialist Party are, of course, especially interested in Russia because of the many claims that the system of political economy is that of Socialism. We deny it and say that Russia is not Socialist, never was Socialist, will not become a Socialist land until the mass of the people understand and want Socialism. But let us look at Gunther's book and see what he finds in Russia.

On page 30 Gunther writes: "Several times in this book I shall seemingly contradict on one page what I have said on another. Anyway 'How much Socialism remains, if any?' He poses the question, but does not answer it. He tells us on page 25, 'The U.S.S.R. . . contains 15 different republics, and is the world's first Socialist State.' So Gunther thinks, or apparently thought, when he started his book that Russia was Socialist.

Gunther's views on Marx from page 182: "Marx could have had little relish for the stupendous State Capitalistic structure that identifies itself as Marxist under Khrushchev and company. I do not think he would be happy at much that he saw, particularly in the line of Soviet betrayals of his original egalitarian ideals. Marx irremediably changed the face of Russia, but also Russia changed the face of Marx." How Marx changed the face of Russia Gunther does not say—presumably he imagines that he has changed Russia from a Capitalist to a Socialist land. By Russia changing Marx, again he does not state how. They—the Russians, have certainly betrayed Marx's teachings. However, he now maintains that Russia is State Capitalistic with which we could agree; so it is not the world's first Socialist State!

On page 182 he writes: "By scientific Socialism Marx meant attainable Socialism, as soon as possible." Where Gunther obtained this idea he does not state—perhaps he got it from the Russians, and this is really offered as a sample of how Russia has changed Marx.

On page 185 he writes: "By crude definition Marxism is a philosophy; Leninism is Marxism applied to government in Russia." Why he wants a crude definition he does not say, at all events he has the idea that Marxism has been applied to Russia. Khrushchev is reported in this book as saying, "Stalin was a great fighter against Imperialism and a great Marxist." Whether Gunther agrees with this—there is no hint. As this statement was made a year after Khrushchev debunked Stalin it represents a fair sample of K.'s Marxism.

From *Inside Russia* one gathers that Gunther is not concerned about the question whether Socialism exists in Soviet Russia—that is as far as he personally is involved. We in the Socialist Party can hardly be expected to accept that outlook. We are very concerned about it because the Russian system is not Socialism and we oppose it. In all our pamphlets and in every copy of this magazine we define what we mean by Socialism. Nobody need be under any illusion that the classless society envisaged by

Marx and our party, has anything in common with Russia.

On page 315 we read, "Socialist realism is not so much a doctrine as a kind of platform, embracing much, and it is not altogether easy to define. In essence it means the service of the community." The author makes no attempt to equate this with the Soviet Union.

Gunther quotes Lenin on page 385 when he declared that "Soviet Russia equals Socialism plus electrification," which is about as sensible as stating that Socialism equals Soviet Russia plus electrification.

Towards the end of the book we encounter on page 405 "How Socialist is it? Not very if by 'Socialism' you mean equality of reward. The chief Socialist characteristics in the Soviet system are ownership by the State of all land and means of production. No accumulation of private wealth through the conventional business processes; no stock markets for private financial manipulation; national planning on the theory that the country belongs to the people."

All this about State ownership and control of land and finance is the "man in the street's" idea of Socialism, and would no doubt be shared by the Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties. Among the non-Socialist factors he lists the banking system, people earning incomes with a great disparity, and the fact that people can accumulate any amount of money.

No mention has been made of the Russian rouble millionaires in this book, nor is it necessary to go to Russia to learn about them, but only to read Communist Party pamphlets before they get withdrawn for letting the cat out of the bag!

Finally, Gunther states that "This system has most certainly not produced a classless society," which ought to clinch the matter. So long as classes remain there can be no Socialism—for the classless society is the foundation stone of Socialism which Russia yet has to lay.

The existence of an army, navy and air force, not to mention the armed police force and the special secret police, and a system of spying and intrigue equalled by no other State, finds no mention in this book, although Gunther mentions that there is nothing approaching democracy as we know it in the West, and only the most hazy ideas of how the West lives.

The recent developments in the direction of exporting capital (according to Lenin's *Imperialism*, one of the hallmarks of Imperialism), finds no mention in this volume. The great internal National Debt is also not mentioned. However, the existence of classes means that there is a class struggle. The existence of a wage system means that exploitation is present. In addition, there is all the paraphernalia of Imperialism in Russia today based on Lenin's Imperialism.

H. JARVIS.

"Men will eat dirt by the bushel rather than lose their jobs. And this is true of large men as of small."—Hilaire Belloc, *New Age*, 2/5/1908.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30—7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) January 4th 12.30 p.m.
" 11th 11 a.m.
" 18th 11 a.m.
" 25th 12.30 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS

Gloucester Road ... 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

FRIDAYS

Earls Court ... 8 p.m.

SATURDAYS

Rushcroft Road ... 8 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

LEWISHAM BRANCH LECTURES

at
DAVENPORT HOUSE, DAVENPORT ROAD,
RUSHEY GREEN, S.E.6
Mondays at 8.15 p.m.

Details Advertised in Local Press

Monday, January 12th
" " 26th
" February 9th
" " 23rd

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

DARTFORD BRANCH

RE-UNION SUPPER

CELEBRATING THE 500TH MEETING OF THE BRANCH

To be held at

"THE BLACK PRINCE" ROCHESTER WAY, BEXLEY, KENT
on FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1959

at 7.30 p.m. (Supper will be Served at 8 p.m.)

Tickets 7/6 (Exclusive of Drinks)

Accommodation is limited so Order your Tickets

Early from

S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent
(Orpington 21431)

H. J. Wilson, 7, Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent
(Bx 1950)

Rochester Way is on the A2. Bexley Station (Dartford Loop Line) is within easy walk of "The Black Prince." Buses 132 and 401, Green Line 725, all Stop outside the Hotel

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

CHELTHENHAM.—Secretary, Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BR1stol 24680.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: D1Dsbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Contact Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Cattle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MA1 5165.

REDBILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelli

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Graylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Bash Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Jan. 1st and 15th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 334, South Lambeth Road, Brixton, S.W.8.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Baling Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. E. A. Darrock, 51, Plant St., Glasgow, E.1. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Jan. 14th and 28th) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (Jan. 12th and 26th) at 8 p.m., at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: F. R. Ivimey, 99, Somerford Estate, N.16.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Jan. 14th and 28th). 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Rd. N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o, Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES. Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elm Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m.; at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham. Enquiries to Secretary, 83, Portland Road, Waverley Street, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbash, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Jan. 4th "THE INVISIBLE ENEMY"—H. Jarvis.

" 11th "PEARL OF PAARL"—P. Lawrence.

" 18th "OPERATION TEUTONIC SWORD"—

H. Baldwin.

" 25th "CHILDREN ON TRIAL"—E. Lake.

HACKNEY BRANCH LECTURE

at

BETHNAL GREEN TOWN HALL, (Room 3),
CAMBRIDGE HEATH ROAD, E.2.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1959 at 8 p.m.

MARXISM AND DARWINISM

Speaker - - H. YOUNG

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS How Labour Helps Capitalism

No. 654 Vol. 55 February, 1959

SHORTER HOURS, FOR WHAT?

Bang the drum

As the date of the General Election approaches, the Labour Party girds its loins. The constituency parties are told to hurry on their preparations. A glossy party statement makes its appearance. Transport House tells of the special efforts being made in marginal constituencies, and reveals that the fighting fund is swelling to record proportions. The Labour Party prepares for battle.

The uniforms are smart, the drums exciting, the banners promise the earth. All is well until you read the accounts of the last campaign. What have the Labour M.P.s who were returned at the last General Election, after claiming working-class support, been doing to justify their claims to be Socialists?

* * *

ENTERPRISING I.C.I.

Brass tacks

Mr. George Strauss, for example, the Labour M.P. for Vauxhall and a former Minister of Supply. Late last year he surveyed the world scene—the exploitation of the working class by capitalism, the colonial bloodshed, the wars and the threats of wars—and then he kicked up a great fuss in Parliament about . . . the way the London Electricity Board disposes of its scrap cable (*The Times*, 5/12/58). He was afraid the Board might not be getting enough money for it. Mr. Strauss supported the reorganisation of electricity supply as a State capitalist industry, and is desperately anxious to show that State capitalism can make just as big a profit as private capitalism.

Unfortunately for the Labour Party, workers who see that the entire profit system must be ended are not likely to be excited by Mr. Strauss's activities.

* * *

LITTLE BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR II

THE RISE OF THE MERITOCRACY

Unconsoleable

Or take Mr. J. Callaghan, the Labour member for South-East Cardiff. Mr. Callaghan is worried because he thinks the Foreign Office is preventing British shipyards building warships for the Indonesians to kill each other with. In the Commons he alleged that shipbuilders here could have got orders for sixty million pounds' worth of warships but for the Government's interference. "It has always been our policy to supply other nations with warships," he said (*Manchester Guardian*, 13/12/58). Some of the orders, he said, had now gone to Italian firms.

Indonesia is now in a state of civil conflict and rebellion, and any warship which the Indonesian Government gets would first be used to crush opposition among the islands. The last moments of a dying Indonesian rebel would be made doubly bitter if he thought he had been shot by an Italian-built warship, when he could have been killed by a genuine British product.

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Juggling

British shipbuilding firms will appreciate Mr. Callaghan's concern that they should have full order-books, and, consequently, fat profits. Mr. Callaghan said that "our people were being put out of work by the present Foreign Office policy," so no doubt he would claim his prime concern is for the shipbuilding workers. But under the capitalist system, that is like demanding that more food shall be provided for the rich men, since the poor people will also benefit because of the few more crumbs which will then fall from the rich men's tables.

In any case, if Mr. Callaghan were successful, and these orders for warships went to British yards instead of to the Italians, what about the Italian workers? If Mr. Callaghan thinks it would be an advantage to the British workers that these orders should be placed here, he must also agree that it would be a corresponding blow to the Italian workers, and to their wives and families, if the orders were withdrawn from the Italian shipyards. No, Mr. Callaghan: if you want to benefit the working class, you won't do it by juggling about with order-books, so that one group of workers, instead of another, are kindly allowed to be exploited full-time.

Arms and the Labour man

Mr. R. Mellish, the M.P. for Bermondsey, is another Labour member who keeps a wary eye on armaments. In Parliament he asked the Secretary for War what progress had been made with the development of the medium tank, and if he would give its approximate weight and speed and armament (*Manchester Guardian*, 18/12/58). He was much displeased with the answer that the tank would be ready for development trials towards the end of 1959. He put a subsidiary question:

"Surely you will be aware that your predecessor in 1956 decided on a policy of manufacturing the medium tank? Are you telling us now that these trials are not going to take place till 1959? Why this enormous delay?"

The British ruling class will be heartened to think there is such a good watchdog in Parliament as Mr. Mellish: sufficient arms to protect their interests in a third world war will not be lacking if Mr. Mellish has his way.

Presumably the electors of Bermondsey in the coming election will be invited to "Vote for Mellish and better tanks."

Knight-Errants

Apart from these recent activities of the present Labour M.P.s the *Sunday Express* (14/12/58) has reminded us of an Act passed by the Labour Government in 1949 which must thrill the hearts of all the party's supporters.

Lady Mountbatten revealed in 1949 that her net income, because of taxation, had fallen to only £4,500 per annum. So Lord and Lady Mountbatten had to scrimp and save on an income of only £90 a week, plus, of course, Lord Mountbatten's pay as an Admiral and any other income he might have. A shock of horror ran through the country. I remember it well—protest meetings of dockers and miners, housewives weeping in the streets, old age pensioners offering to contribute. The Labour Government took swift action. It was at the time when they were endeavouring to enforce a wage freeze on the workers, but they realised immediately that the Mountbattens were in a different class. A Bill was introduced into Parliament—the Married Women (Restraint upon Anticipation) Bill—which enabled Lady Mountbatten and other heiresses in the same position, to borrow in advance on future income, and thereby save a considerable amount in surtax. The day was saved. But the incident had enabled the Labour Government to demonstrate its practical sympathy towards the sufferings of the people—or at any rate of one of them.

Another vote for Labour

Why has the *Sunday Express* brought all this up now? Well, it appears that the 1949 Act was only an emergency measure, as it were. New moves, we are told, have started which will enable Countess Mountbatten to draw still more money from the trust fund she inherited from her grandfather. After all, her husband's income as an Admiral of the Fleet is only £100 a week. The exact nature of the new moves is uncertain. If they have not been successful by the time of the next General Election, and if Labour is returned to power as it hopes, no doubt a new Labour Government would come to the Countess's rescue as chivalrously as the last one did. But the workers had better not expect the same generous attitude, or they will be disappointed.

ALWYN EDGAR.

ENTERPRISING I.C.I.

All the Old Fallacies

ON Sunday, 14th December, a most interesting film was shown at Head Office as part of our winter propaganda series. The film was called *Enterprise* and was made by the Imperial Chemical Industries about itself.

Although the film ran only for 22 minutes, it must have been quite costly to make, since it was entirely in cartoon form and in colour. As an attempt to justify the profit motive, from a Socialist point of view it was an elaborate waste of time. All the time-honoured catch-phrases and phoney ideals, so dear to the hearts of the Capitalist Class, were put over with the most subtle propaganda technique.

Of course, one major weakness in films which set out to "sell" Capitalism as the best system possible is, that if

it was really so good and in the best interest of everyone, it would not be necessary to "plug" it all the time. If the set-up existing between employers and employees, the owners and non-owners of the means of living, was so in accordance with man's nature that there was no antagonism or conflict of interest, there would be no need to keep turning out expensive sugar-coated propaganda.

What we are expected to swallow by the film is that giant concerns like I.C.I. exist for the purpose of doing things "for us." We are told, via the commentator, that the Capitalists "risk" their money in a community-minded spirit to "produce for our use." It is with heartfelt desire to serve "us" that the £220,000,000 capital of I.C.I. is set into motion. To produce, with the "maximum efficiency and speed, the things we need" is the noble objective of

the selfless Capitalist.

It is readily admitted by the film that the Capitalist makes profits, but, of course, this is his just "reward" for "risking" his money in our interest. Although the film several times makes reference to this "reward," nothing is said about its origin. It is almost as though a good fairy recognises the kindly nature of the Capitalist and, with a wave of her wand, his "reward" materializes out of thin air. Considering that in 1957 I.C.I. made £27 million net profit, that must be some fairy. From the standpoint of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, these notions are the purest drivel. We would not waste time on such arguments except for the fact that they are expected to be, and too often are, taken seriously by members of the working class.

Another phrase used in the film was, that I.C.I. is a "community in unity." In fact the whole commentary is made to rhyme, but we felt more as though the commentator was spinning us a yarn than reciting poetry. There is no basis for unity between the working-class and the capitalist class. It is from the wealth produced by the workers that the profits of the Capitalist arise. The words "efficiency and speed" merely try to mask the employer's determination to exploit his wage-slaves to the maximum possible extent.

The film started by depicting an ancient potter, who not only made the pots himself but, when times were hard, also went out and found new markets for them: if through HIS efforts HE got rich, good luck to him. Then we are brought forward in time to I.C.I., and they try to make the parallel that those who get profits out of I.C.I., too, are the ones who do the work. We are shown few workers and lots of board-rooms, executives, and costings departments. The ancient potter owned the implements he worked with, but under modern Capitalist production work and ownership of implements are separated. This fact lies at the bottom of all the major social problems facing mankind to-day.

How different from all this things would be under Socialism. When the means of production are held in common by all, the word "community" will have a real meaning. In a classless system, costings departments and

board-rooms will have no place. It will not be necessary to calculate costs in order to maintain profits when society is no longer concerned with monetary systems. Under Capitalism, the first consideration is "Will it sell?" "Will it be profitable?" With Socialism, the first and only consideration will be human well-being, the democratic organisation of production for use on the basis of free access.

The *Stock Exchange Year Book* for 1958 gives an impressive list of about 20 countries in which I.C.I. have holdings. When the competition for markets, minerals and trade-routes, etc., leads the various ruling class groups to war it is possible for workers to fight for I.C.I.'s interests in almost every part of the world.

Much is made in the film of the vast number of shareholders in I.C.I. This is another stock argument of Capitalist defenders which only shows how shallow they really are. It is as good as admitting that it is anti-social for a few to own the means of society's living, so if they can make it sound a lot it has a better effect. As if it matters to workers being exploited whether the wealth they produce above their wages is shared by many or few Capitalists. When the official figures show that 10 per cent. of the population own 90 per cent. of the accumulated wealth, one does not need to be a genius at maths. to find out what property interests or investments the working-class has.

A fact not mentioned in the film is that it is a regular practice of I.C.I. to make large donations to Scientific Education. In one of their own publications, *I.C.I. Review for 1957*, we are told that the amount for that year was £300,000. The review adds that the object is "to increase the amount and quality of Scientific and Technical work in the country generally, from which the Company itself will undoubtedly benefit."

When workers begin to understand their true position in present-day society and start to see the need for Socialism, they will not be so easily deceived by Capitalist propaganda. They will read the Press, listen to the radio and watch films and television in the light of their growing class-consciousness. The days of production for the profit of a few will then be on the way out.

H. B.

LITTLE BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU!

IT has always been fashionable for the champions of so-called Western Democracy to describe in horrifying detail the horrors perpetrated by Big Brother Stalin. Big Brother Khrushchev and the other dictators, in order that we might be comforted by the thought that circumstances here might be a lot worse. When one looks around, though, the differences aren't as great as they are made out to be. Everywhere one looks, there are myriads of little brothers—the petty bureaucrats and officials that are apparently indispensable to modern society. So vast and impersonal has the State machine become, that the sum total of all the little brothers appears to make a very big brother indeed. One of the most disturbing features about this is the way in which little-brotherdom has been taken for granted, few now questioning the supervisory rights exercised by the multitudes of little brothers.

Practically every moment of our waking life is spent

under the observation and control of these watchdogs, who themselves are oblivious to the nature of their task, that is to be the ruling class's minions who ensure that every dot and comma of the laws of property society are observed.

Let us take a look at our lives and see how far we are dominated by little-brotherdom. We open our eyes in the morning, lift our heads from the pillow (Purchase Tax (Domestic Pillowslips) Order 1947, S.R. & O., 1876): and gaze around our cosy Council flat ("Tenants shall not keep cats, dogs, chickens, livestock or any animal whatsoever"). We lower our feet gently to the floor, careful not to wake the baby downstairs ("No musical instruments, radio, record-player or noisy instrument whatsoever shall be played or used between the hours of 11 p.m. and 7.30 a.m."). We pull on our cotton socks (Customs and Excise (Import Licences for Foreign Cotton Goods) Order 1954, S.I. No: 6764).

The carpet we tread on is subject to Purchase Tax, Hire Purchase restrictions, Customs and Excise duty if it is imported, Police investigation if it is stolen, and some thousands of officials in various Ministries and Departments are concerned with all these qualities of the carpet. The only quality that they are not interested in is the one that concerns the owner, that is, its usefulness. Similarly the tea that we pop into the teapot is haggled over by harassed merchants, discussed by diplomats, preserved by security police, checked by Customs officials, weighed by weights and measures men, and litigated over by lawyers, all without reference or relevance to the need that it satisfies.

And so the morning goes on; everything we do, everything we use, and even our conversations are affected in some way or other by regulations, statutes, restrictions, official decrees, taxes, tithes, fines, penalties, and the rest.

Perhaps the postman has brought us some mail? Ah, yes, a kind letter from our obedient servant, the Inspector of Taxes, requesting us to complete and return Form A.63 forthwith or have our code number reduced to zero (almost a fate worse than death). What else—perhaps a billet-doux from the Postmaster-General reminding us that our television licence expires on the 31st proximo? Or a figure-studded form from the Town Clerk telling us that each pound of rates was divided up into such fascinating items as 3d. for roads; 4d. for schools; 9d. for himself as watcher-in-chief and for his myrmidons; and so on. In fact, one could hazard the guess that three-quarters of the average man's mail comes from the little brothers.

And so it goes on—one is always subject to the restrictions, petty tyranny and feeling of soul-destroying impotence produced by constant surveillance—"Good morning, madam; may I see your wireless and television licences?"; and the rest of it.

Even the forms of little-brotherdom that we take completely for granted—"Fares, please"; "May I see your ticket?"; "One and nines at the far paybox"—all these are the product of an irrational society which substitutes profit for human needs, money for human feelings, and cash registers for human lives.

A whole army of people exists, whose only purpose is to restrict us, regulate our lives, keep us submissive, and preserve the sanctity of private property. This is not a criticism of the watchdogs themselves—the clerk in the tax office or the bus conductor is only carrying out a job,

although the job itself is one that stultifies and inhibits. Millions of able-bodied men and women carry out these socially useless tasks for the purpose of keeping capitalism running efficiently and keeping the others in order.

Capitalism requires an army, navy, air force, police force and judiciary to defend the rights of employers to exploit their propertyless employees. In order to do this efficiently in the modern world, an immense and complicated State machine grows up, which irons out the differences between individual capitalists and combines all their interests in what is complacently described as the "national interest." To maintain this top-heavy institution, hundreds of thousands of workers are required to staff the endless Ministries and Departments. The Inland Revenue Department rakes in the State's share of the profits exacted from workers, and the various Ministries spend it in the ways deemed best by the ruling class's administrators.

And yet, a large proportion of the tasks performed by this vast army of people are, from a rational point of view, socially worthless. The Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance keeps infirm and aged workers alive at the minimum expense; the Customs and Excise Department preserves the State monopolies of tobacco and alcohol and keeps the rapacious foreign capitalist from the door; the Defence Ministry and Foreign Office ensure that the British capitalist can hang on to what he has captured; and so on. No doubt this is all very desirable from the ruling class's point of view, but has little to do with the interests of the majority of people.

People's acceptance of these social fungi implies an acceptance of capitalism, with all the evils that go with it. Conversely, once one has rejected capitalism, it can be seen that this implies the rejection of all of its stupid paraphernalia—of which little brothers are a part. Little brothers are only a facet of a harmful social system which has long outlived its purpose; a facet which itself emphasises and demonstrates the irrational and undesirable nature of capitalist society.

A society which turns in on itself in this way, which dominates and regiments humans instead of serving their interests—this is a world which is unworthy of human beings. The fact that people find life unthinkable without the little brothers proves just how unthinkable it has become with them.

A. W. I.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR—II

No Compromise

Neither side rushed blindly into the American Civil War. North and South made many efforts to compromise on their disputes, but each settlement only flung up more problems, making the war seem more certain.

Louisiana Purchase

In 1803 it was proposed that the Louisiana lands, recently purchased from France, should be recognised as a State of the Union. This proposal roused the jealousy of the New Englanders, not because Louisiana was a slave State but because they feared the addition of a Southern State on the other side of the political balance. This dispute promoted the agreement that free and slave States should be admitted to the Union alternately. This com-

promise worked well until 1820, when Missouri, a slave State, applied to join the Union. (Indiana, Illinois, and Maine had joined as free States and Mississippi and Alabama as slave States.) Although it meant breaking their agreement, the North bitterly opposed the entry of Missouri, for they were coming to the opinion that no more slave States should be admitted to the Union. This dispute was shelved by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which recognised Missouri as a slave State, but ruled that no slave State should exist north of a parallel 36° 30' N., and that any State south of this line should be allowed to decide its own status.

The Missouri Compromise was broken by the refusal to extend the line across the Continent when California

joined the Union, and further trouble developed over the admission of Kansas and Nebraska. These two States were brought into the Union to carry the railways which were pushing into the West. Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise both should have been free States, but in the event only Nebraska was recognised as such. Kansas, whose wild and lawless settlers were violently pro-slavery, was allowed to choose its own status and the whole procedure was legalised by the Kansas/Nebraska Bill of 1854, which finally wiped out the Missouri Compromise.

The first elections in Kansas were chaotic. First, heavily armed Border ruffians from Missouri came into the State and drowned the election in illegal votes. When the pro-slavery candidate was declared elected, John Brown led a counter invasion of Abolitionists. Civil war broke out between the two sides, with each setting up its own government and holding its own elections. In the end, the slavers won, and they passed the most stringent measures to protect their system. Another compromise had failed.

The Republican Party

Temper on both sides were now rising fast, aggravated by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. This Act allowed Marshalls from the Southern States to arrest runaway slaves, who had previously been granted refuge in the North, and return them to their masters. The dispute over this Act was highlighted by the case of Dred Scott, a runaway slave, who legally contested his return. His case dragged on for years, until in 1857 the Supreme Court ruled that he was a piece of property without the right to sue in Federal Courts and that anyway he had lost his case in the Missouri courts, which had sole authority to deal with it. This decision stung opinion in the North, and the extreme anti-slavery attitude of the Abolitionists became more acceptable. In Boston, Lloyd Garrison had earned from the State of Georgia a \$5,000 price on his head for publishing the Abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*. Respectable Northerners, after the Dred Scott case, looked upon Garrison's paper with a less hostile eye.

Still, the Abolitionists could not win a Presidential election; in 1856 John C. Fremont lost to the Democrat, Buchanan. In truth, the Abolitionists could never fulfil the needs of the North's rising capitalists. As the railways grew out and the link-up of the Middle West destroyed local prejudices, as the struggle between industry and the Southern landowners became more acute, so opinion in the North became more solid. In 1856 the Republican Party was formed and the Northern capitalists had a political organisation strong enough to counter the aristocratic planters. The Republicans did not at first intend to abolish slavery, or to sharpen the conflict with the South. They wanted to expand American industry, develop the West and control the country's political affairs. But each successive dispute, and the planters' notion of their inborn superiority, made civil war seem unavoidable.

Abraham Lincoln

The Bourbon planters were blind to the fact that the South was falling behind economically. Two-thirds of the country's banking and financial investments were in the North, with Massachusetts alone said to hold more money in her banks than the whole of the Confederacy in 1861. Other estimates put the North's manufactures as worth nearly ten times all the crops of the South, and reckoned the Northern hay crop more valuable than all the Southern cotton, tobacco and sugar. (The planters over-estimated

the importance of the world's demand for cotton right through the war, many Southerners expected Lancashire opinion to force England to declare war on the North). They were convinced of their strength, and America slithered towards civil war, with the feeble President, Buchanan, incapable of doing anything about it.

In 1860 another Presidential election fell due, with Abraham Lincoln representing the Republican Party. There were only 30,000 slave-owning families in the South, with about 10,000 of them large owners. But these were the influences in Southern public opinion and, although Lincoln was plainly moderate in his opinion on the slavery dispute, they had no desire to put political power into his hands. He did not receive one vote south of Virginia (where he polled 2,000). In the border State of Missouri he got just 17,000. In 1856 the cotton States had plainly said that, if the Abolitionist Fremont were elected, they would leave the Union. (There had been several such threats during the past 60 years' political struggles, not all of them from the South.) The planters recognised that Lincoln's victory broke their last link with the Union, which they regarded as a collection of sovereign States which they could leave at will. They would suffer no coercion from a central government.

Secession

In December, 1860, South Carolina led the way out of the Union, and by February of the following year Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida and Texas had joined her in a Confederacy formed at Montgomery, Alabama. Jefferson Davis was the President and Alexander Stephens the Vice-President. Civil War seemed a hardening certainty.

(To be continued.)

JACK LAW.

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All Welcome.

THE RISE OF THE MERITOCRACY

Society in 2034

When Swift, with satirical solemnity, suggested in his "Modest Proposals" that poverty in Ireland could be abolished by raising the children of the Irish poor for food, many at the time were shocked. The current suggestion that one day all children will be raised for fitting them to the rigid requirements of a stratified society evokes no great outcry, even though the consequences would be for humans as disastrous as if the "Modest Proposals" had been put into effect.

Dr. Young's book, *The Rise of the Meritocracy* (publishers, Thomas and Hudson, 15s.) outlines such a future. By A.D. 2034 Britain is ruled by an intellectual élite, a mere 5 per cent. of the population, "who know what 5 per cent. means." It is no longer wealth assets but Intelligence Quotient assessment which fixes people's place in society. All social philosophy is compressed into the formula, I.Q. + Effort = Merit. I.Q. prediction has been pushed back into the womb and the job of the educator is to train these "womb products" at the appropriate level. A society, presumably, where there will be equality of opportunity for everyone to become unequal.

But this exclusion of the many brings frustration and resentment among the masses, who are too stupid to realise that they have been placed in that station of life to which it has pleased their I.Q. destiny to call them. Certain intellectuals, mostly women, to whom the Meritocracy is anathema, excite the mob to revolt. The climax is reached when the Ministry of Education is gutted, a call made for a general strike as well as a great May Day demonstration to be held at Peterloo. The dissident intellectuals also frame a charter demanding, among other things, retention of primary schools, raising of the school age to eighteen and common secondary schools for all.

The book takes the form of a history of the use of the Meritocracy by an unnamed sociologist who is killed at Peterloo before he has time to submit the proofs that in a competitive world where other nations have made the Meritocracy the essence of the Establishment, social survival is only possible by perpetuating the I.Q. way of life.

Government by the Super-Intelligent

Dr. Young's satire is apparently a warning against what he thinks might be the outcome of present trends and widely held beliefs. First, that the working class is in economic and cultural decline; that there is a fixed and limited potential of intelligence and that these limited intellectual resources must be efficiently utilised by rigid educational discrimination if we are to hold our own against other nations.

The logic of events would seem to indicate a world controlled by "experts" and "specialists." The dissolving of the present class structure and the emergence of a new two class system of high I.Q.s and low I.Q.s based finally by continuous selection and breeding on an hereditary principle. The only thing against Dr. Young's views is that there is no evidence of such trends which point in the direction he adumbrates.

Dr. Young's account of how the present ruling class is cajoled, indoctrinated and finally liquidated is thoroughly unconvincing. It is a shadowy world where politicians, psychologists, pundits and pedagogues possess enormous

power and the complex character of capitalism is reduced to the dimensions of a Meccano set, whose parts can be interchanged in a most arbitrary fashion. The Aladdin's lamp of the old technocrats' fantasy is introduced as a device to help the story and the geni is, of course, "automation." The ruling class—the high I.Q.s,—get enormous incomes and the low I.Q.s live quite comfortably, although, due to labour displacement, many become domestic servants. This may be good fun, but it is bad satire.

There is not the slightest evidence to show that the present ruling class is losing its grip and that effective power is passing into the hands of "experts" and "specialists" of attested I.Q. ability. History knows no ruling class that has voluntarily abdicated its power or has been persuaded out of it by those whose services it employs. The ability of a ruling class to rule is not basically a question of I.Q. assessments, but consists of tradition, cultural inheritance and social practice. A ruling class learns to rule by ruling. And the present ruling class has learned it well. It cannot, as Dr. Young imagines, be reduced to an instructed art or science. Again, people like Lloyd George, Churchill, Macmillan and many others have a knowledge of affairs born out of certain circumstances and experience not amenable to I.Q. prediction and perhaps inaccessible to I.Q. testers.

Fallacious Argument

An instructive part of the book, although perhaps not in the way the author intended, is when the dissident intellectuals of the Meritocracy argue that "people ought to be evaluated not merely in terms of their intelligence and education, but for their kindness, courage, generosity, etc. And that people should have an opportunity to rise not in any mathematical sense but to each develop his special capacities for leading a rich life. Then we should have the classless society." But why should sensibility, sensitivity, sympathy and ability to co-operate be excluded from intelligence rating? The answer lies in the assumptions of present society about the nature of intelligence. In a society like the present one we have been taught to think of intelligence in a most unintelligent way, as something absolute and fixed. The most useful thing we can say about intelligence is that it is inseparably connected with the learning process. Given encouragement, sympathy and the appropriate conditions, people can go on learning all their lives. These prerequisites are gravely handicapped in present society. To-day the authorised pursuit of knowledge takes the form of the rat race of scholarships or later competitive exams, where concepts of status and privilege become the prime stimulus.

So far as the educational system becoming a power in itself, it only makes sense in the light of the requirements of capitalism, i.e., by fashioning the raw material of working class children into the manufactured article required by employers. Education, like charity, is still for the deserving poor. This may offend starry-eyed educationalists dedicated to some abstract principle of education, but they are the facts. Mental testers, administrators and teachers are only doing what capitalist society requires them to do. Many teachers, we believe, recognise this, but there is little they can do about it in practice.

Equality and Equality of Opportunity

Apparently the high I.Q. reformers of the Meritocracy have learned nothing from the reformers of the past—no, not even that they have learned nothing. They want a classless society based on the poetic sentiment of "something nearer to the heart's desire," ignoring the fact that a privileged society conditions hearts, among other things. The latter day egalitarians, like the earlier ones, try to apply the concept of equality in a social context profoundly unequal. They even confuse themselves and others by equating equality with equality of opportunity, which is, of course, one of the major contemporary confusions. But in a privileged society opportunities are not born free and equal, and the demand for it is the demand of the underprivileged. The demand by Labour egalitarians for equality of opportunity merely turns out to be an opportunity of inequality. That is their dilemma.

We shall, of course, never grasp what human equality really means until we recognise where the source of inequalities lies, i.e., in the ownership of existing wealth resources by a privileged few.

Keeping up with the I.Q. of the Joneses

In a truly classless society, where all members freely and equally participate in the life and work of the community, the term equality will cease to have meaning; it will have become dissolved into the every-day life and practice of social organisation. There will be no exclusion from above or inclusion from below. People will not be chosen, but do the choosing. As always when people are allowed to choose, they are for the most part sensible about it. In a classless society people will be able to freely avail themselves of a variation of choices and so richly utilise their various capacities. There will be no attempt to shape other people's lives on some arbitrary intelligence model.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Socialist Party and Social Reform

IN the S.P.G.B. we make but one stipulation, and that is that its members must be Socialists. The ranks of Social Reform include anybody with a pet fad who will adopt the formula: "I, too, am a Socialist, in some respects, ahem! but I think we want the Single Tax, or a paper currency, or State Ownership of the Ice Cream Carts, you know, first." And so we find Joseph Fels, the single taxer, R. J. Campbell, the new theologian, Arthur Kitson, the currency crank, H. G. Wells, the sensational novelist, and hosts of others, representing all shades of faddism, up and down the whole gamut of puerile futility, all in the same camp and under the same many-coloured banner of "Social Reform."—(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, February, 1909.)

The Purpose of Profit Sharing and Co-partnership

When trade is "booming" and the employer is making larger profits than usual, the "ungrateful" workman, despite the fact that he may be enjoying "plenty of work," sometimes takes it into his head that he would like a slightly larger share of the wealth he has produced so abundantly, and taking a "mean advantage" of the

In spite of their high I.Q.s, the rulers of the Meritocracy are crass victims of their own ideology, where status and prestige are the ultimate values, and where the chosen themselves have no choice in the matter. A society where it seems families will emblazon their escutcheons not with a coat-of-arms but with I.Q. assessments, a kind of intellectual variation of keeping up with the Joneses. At least the present ruling class have a more intelligent view of the sources of their power and the reason for keeping those sources.

The book is a fusion of elements of Orwell's 1984, Huxley's *Brave New World* and Burnham's *Managerial Revolution*, and a rehash to a large extent of the Superman theory of the dead thinker, Shaw. Dead in more senses than one. Like many more, the author is so busy reading the future that he misses what is going on under his very nose. He looks for problems that are not really there, instead of solutions which are right here, i.e., the supersession of present-day profit motivated society for one based on free and equal access to the means of living.

The story of Meritocracy is the story of push-button capitalism and where every push-button country is furiously in competition with every other push-button country, although why, we are never told. The author has a naive belief in the miraculous powers of increased productivity via technocracy and science. For him all human problems are really technical problems which men may fail to master and so produce the Frankenstein of the Meritocracy.

It is a twice-told tale, first told more than half a century ago. There is no more human evidence or non-human evidence for believing it now than for believing it then.

As a book it belongs more properly to science fiction than to a serious social work.

E. W.

employer, he threatens to strike unless his demands are granted. To have a strike to contend with means stoppage of production, and therefore, the losing of the opportunity of making those larger profits. The employer grates his teeth. Under his breath he curses the "wicked workers" who were not content . . . to remain in the position in which capitalism has placed them. . . .

Here, then, are the two difficulties facing the capitalist—to get the "lazy" worker to speed up, and to prevent strikes taking place at awkward moments—awkward, that is, for the capitalist's profits. Labour Co-partnership meets both these perils in a splendid way for the capitalist.—(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, February, 1909.)

ISLINGTON BRANCH LECTURE
at
CO-OP. HALL, 129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD, N.1
on
THURSDAY, 19th FEBRUARY, at 8 p.m.
"Can U.N.O. Help?"
Speakers: Com. MICHAEL

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

FEBRUARY



1959

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

SHORTER HOURS FOR WHAT?

SOME of the longest and hardest struggles of the trade unions have been to secure agreements reducing hours of work. Hours were brought down from 10 a day to 9, and then to 8—each time against the complaint of the employers and their tame economists that this would ruin industry, price British exports out of all markets and produce millions of unemployed.

The last general movement towards shorter hours was after World War II, when the 44-hour week became fairly general for industrial workers. (The first World War had been followed by the movement that brought about the 48 to 47-hour week.)

Now a number of unions, including miners, and engineering and shipbuilding workers, are trying to get a further reduction. They are asking for shorter hours without reduction of weekly pay (that being the way hours were reduced on earlier occasions in the past 40 years). With persistent pressure, they should have some success.

It is, however, impossible to pass over without comment the seeming change of attitude that has taken place in recent years towards shorter hours. In the earlier movements the demand for shorter hours meant what it appeared to mean, but in recent years the nominally shorter hours have been used very often merely as a means of getting additional overtime pay while working the same hours as before. In manufacturing industry average hours of work in 1938 were 46½ a week and in 1946 46½. In

If we are to survive

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD February, 1959

1947 the standard working week was generally reduced by agreement from 48 or 47 to 44, but the hours actually worked began to rise again, and in 1955 were only very slightly under 47. In August, 1955, out of about 6,000,000 workers covered by the Ministry of Labour inquiry, over one in four was working overtime, the average overtime of these 1½ millions averaging 8½ hours in the week. In November, 1956, there were 1,600,000 workers doing an average of 8 hours overtime a week, in the manufacturing group of industries employing about 6 million.

Of course, with the rise of unemployment and short-time working the numbers doing overtime have dropped, but at August, 1958, in the same manufacturing group of workers there were still nearly 1,200,000 doing overtime.

We shall therefore again see the trade unions in the somewhat odd position of going to the employers to state a case for a 40-hour week instead of 44, knowing that large numbers of workers are doing upwards of 50 hours.

Of course, it will be said that hundreds of thousands of workers simply cannot make ends meet on their bare pay; for them overtime is a necessity. In a sense this is true, but it is really a dangerous half-truth. If that attitude had been taken up in the 19th century the battles for shorter hours would never have been fought, but workers then did not take up that attitude. They took the more correct line of fighting both to press up the wage for the week and to reduce the weekly hours of work.

But they also set their face against the working of overtime as a normal practice, which is what it now often is.

The hours of work problem raises other issues besides the number of hours spent in the factory or office. As the years go by it is increasingly bound up with the number of hours spent travelling from home to work and back again. Workers have long been forced to move further out from the centre of the big cities, which has meant giving up more time to travel the greater distance. With modern aggravation of the problem of how to keep the traffic moving, it is now also becoming a question of spending more and more time to travel the same distance.

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PUBLIC MEETING

Denison House
Sunday 15 March at 7

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD February, 1959

CLIFFORD GROVES

It is a sad thought that, after several years of bad health, Clifford Groves is now dead at 52 years of age.

Following the death of his wife, Ivy, also a member, he was taken into hospital with little hope of recovery. Comrade Groves' family were Salvationists and during his boyhood he was taught the trumpet. As his mind matured he broke away from religion and, taking his trumpet with him, he used it to augment his wages by playing in a jazz band in good New Orleans style. Then he parted company with the trumpet for the mind-awakening blasts of Socialist propaganda. His experiences working in company offices and on the "road" as a firm's representative ("high-class hawker," to use his own description) made him more and more critical of the morality of the buying and selling of commodities until, in this frame of mind, he chanced to listen to Party speakers. Discussions with Party members ensued which not only did much for him but for the Party members also, for Groves possessed a very critical and ordered mind together with a somewhat caustic wit. Consequently Chiswick Branch members were soon polishing up and improving upon their own knowledge. He joined Chiswick in 1933 and shortly afterwards met Adolph Kohn, an outstandingly able propagandist and, in his own words, he "became Kohn's pupil" and studied hard and long. He was soon speaking for the Party on the outdoor and indoor platforms and developed an excellent manner and clarity of expression that was a joy to hear. Some will recall his pre-war lectures on the "Popular Front" in France and, later, on the "Beveridge" Report and Family

Allowances (the Party pamphlets on both these subjects were written by him).

As he developed, he became in demand as a Party representative in debate and was, at all times, calm and unruffled, even under the most trying conditions, giving of his best whether to a small audience in Cambridge or a "full house" at Kensington Town Hall. Later he became General Secretary and, in 1945, was nominated as our candidate at Paddington North in the General Election. Here, with many other Party members, he gave of his best in what, to many, was the best election campaign the Party has undertaken. (He also represented the Party in the by-election in 1946.) In 1949, signs of ill-health began to appear and, although he resigned as General Secretary, he continued on the Executive Committee for a few more years.

Few knew Groves well, but those of us who did, knew him to be a modest man and, in some ways, a shy one, who freely acknowledged the help that he had received from other Party members. To him the struggle for the establishment of Socialism was the only work worth while and represented his sole interest.

In concluding this salute to a very able propagandist for Socialism, it is appropriate to mention that, in large measure, his work was only made possible by the great help he received from Ivy, his wife, who, throughout the years took over practically all their domestic worries and responsibilities, leaving him free to carry out his Party work.

P. H. and A. G.

THEATRE

A DRAMA OF HUNGARY

It is not often that we see before us on the stage a re-enactment of events only recently cast into history, whose beam has lowered sufficiently to throw a "Shadow of Heroes" on to our vision; that of the people of Hungary, whose struggles formed the stuff of Robert Ardney's play at the Piccadilly Theatre in November.

Ardney has given us an epic, or a document if you will; a play that points no finger, no moral, but simply shows us people playing the only parts they know, in a world not of their own making.

Lately familiar-sounding names: Kadar, Gero and Rakosi, echo about the actors who present them to us—impersonally. Rajk, the idealist, and Kadar, the dedicated plodder; who fought in the Hungarian Communist underground; Gero and Rakosi, the suave politicians, who, after due preparation in Moscow, were returned to Hungary in the wake of the Red Army to rule for the Kremlin.

That which followed is what we have come to know as the Hungarian tragedy and the events that lead up to it; new events in an old pattern. We are soon aware that there is no common cause between those Hungarians from Moscow and those from the cellars of Budapest.

Rajk is hanged as a sacrifice to the needs of rotten political expediency, on a trumped-up charge of Titoist conspiracy, and resurrected as a public hero at the behest of another. As an attempt to line up with the new con-

formity, the Khrushchev ascendancy after the death of Stalin, which went astray and, instead, exploded the keg of suppressed working-class hatred for the oppression of their "liberators" in October, 1956.

Through all this Kadar appears as little more than a pawn, a servant of the Communist Party, to be pulled up and pitched down as and when the interests of the ruling circle require it.

Finally, the intrigues of the Communist overlords for the perks and privileges of despotism, skulking from the wrath of Moscow, eventually invoke that wrath upon themselves and the unfortunate working class.

Ardney knows little of politics and the motive forces of history (at least this is not apparent). Neither should we credit him with personal or political accuracy without verification.

But he pronounces no judgment that his narrative does not do for itself. He gives no causes; no profound analysis. Just people. This is both the strength and weakness of the play. We are free to draw our own conclusions (except for Mr. Emlyn Williams' slight vocal insinuations). Some may draw the wrong ones, or none at all; but at least we are not told what they should be, which is refreshing and salutary.

There is an air of openness about the play: a "chorus," or story teller, weaves in and out the action, the actors set their own scenery of broken outlines, around which the drama unfolds.

We are not involved; we sit and watch, listen and, maybe, think.

I. D. J.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Activity and enthusiasm appear to be the key words for the start of 1959. At Head Office on Tuesdays nowadays there are many members, all working in different aspects of improving and spreading Party Propaganda. It will be obvious when the list of Branch meetings are noted in the current issue of the STANDARD.

Hackney Branch, which is concentrating especially on the forthcoming election campaign, report good progress. Here is an extract from a letter received from the Branch:—

"The following is an announcement by the diarist 'Beta' in the 'Hackney Gazette,' December 2nd, 1958: 'The Socialist Party of Great Britain inform me that they will be contesting the next General Election in Bethnal Green. The candidate is Jack Leslie Read, who was one of the candidates for the division in the last L.C.C. elections.

"The candidate and his organisation stand in complete opposition to both the Labour and Tory parties, and also the Liberal and Communist parties if they choose to contest the seat.

"Our purpose in putting forward a candidate is,' says Mr. J. Harris, the party's Press Officer; 'to give working people an opportunity of casting a vote against capitalism, the system which we claim gives rise to all the social problems and misery of our day, and casting it in favour of Socialism, by which we mean a system of society based on the common ownership and democratic control of all the means of living and where production takes place for use instead of for profit'."

"Beta' then added, 'Local Socialists, who put their faith in Hugh Gaitskell can make of this statement what they will.'"

"Hackney Branch hopes to give local 'Socialists' during the months ahead plenty of opportunities to make what they can of the Party's Socialist message, and look forward to the maximum help from comrades in other Branches."

Ealing Branch starts the New Year optimistically. The merger of the literature and propaganda activities of the Branch into one "general purposes" Committee should help to streamline Branch organisation and lead to useful economies in members' time. This Committee is already examining the possibilities of running film shows as an alternative to lectures and discussions. A Press Officer has been appointed to deal with correspondence in the national and local Press, and a monthly Branch Newsletter has been started. This will be distributed to all Branch members and to regular SOCIALIST STANDARD readers made from our canvasses. The Annual Christmas Social was a great success: over 80 tickets were sold, and Branch funds benefited by about £10.



Bristol Group has arranged a debate, and much work has gone into preparations to make it a success. It is hoped to enlarge propaganda there during the forthcoming months.

Edinburgh, Mitcham and Swansea Groups are holding meetings after intensive work by members of the Groups.

Paddington Branch, in planning well ahead, are confident that the meeting to be held at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, on Sunday, March 15th, will be the first of many such propaganda meetings held. London members are urged to make a special note of the date.

Fulham, Islington and Lewisham branches are among the London branches who have planned well ahead for meetings. Notices of these appear in this issue.

Glasgow (City and Kelvingrove). The branches in Glasgow have conducted propaganda this winter jointly and since November have held monthly meeting in the St. Andrews Halls. A feature of these meetings has been the number of new speakers who have volunteered to take the indoor platform. This is a very encouraging prospect for the outdoor season when it is hoped new stances may be tried.

A series of classes dealing with the socialist theory have been held on the Sunday evenings when there was no propaganda meeting and these have been exceptionally well attended by party members and sympathisers. The discussion has at the classes been most stimulating and is bound to encourage study of Marxism in all its aspects.

The general feeling among Glasgow members is that so far this winter we have managed to encourage young speakers to a greater degree than hitherto and we look forward to the coming outdoor season with a great deal more enthusiasm than last year.

Details of the propaganda meeting and the classes for this month are contained elsewhere in this issue and all members, sympathisers and of course opponents are invited along.

P. H.

THE ECONOMICS OF HEALTH

1. A Survey of the Problem

It has long been known that economic factors have an immense amount to do with health, although opinions vary on "why" and "how" health is so influenced. Frederick Engels, in his *Conditions of the Working Class*

in England in 1844 wrote: "Society in England daily and hourly commits social murder; it has placed the workers under conditions in which they neither retain health nor live long; it undermines the vital force of these workers

gradually, little by little, and so hurries them to their grave before their time." If conditions in this country have changed somewhat since 1844, in many parts of the world these things still apply. It has been stated by Lord Boyd Orr that two-thirds of the world's population are still living below the standards of normal nutrition—in other words, they are suffering from malnutrition, and are destined to die of malnutrition if they don't first succumb from some other condition.

In 1938 Dr. Scott Williamson and Dr. Innes Pearce, of the Peckham Health Centre, examined 1,530 men, women and children, and in only 9 per cent. did they find nothing wrong. Eight per cent. were diseased and were under treatment. Eighty-three per cent. had something wrong and were doing nothing about it—and this was only twenty years ago and in a large town where every help should be obtainable. It constitutes a great indictment that something appalling is wrong, and whatever it be that is wrong, it has a causative factor behind it.

In a Board of Education Survey (1927) of an unselected group of 1,638 London Elementary School children aged 5 (i.e., at the age when they first come under the eye of the School Medical Officer) 83 per cent. showed one or more signs of bony rickets; 66 per cent. showed two or more signs of bony rickets; 83 per cent. showed some abnormality of nose and throat; 67 per cent. had some degree of adenoids; 94 per cent. had decayed teeth; 88 per cent. had a certain degree of bad development of the teeth. A great proportion of such defects are attributable to inadequate food.

This report did not suggest in what way the food was inadequate, for it might well have been inadequate in quality, i.e., deficient in nutritional value, or insufficient in quantity, or both.

It can be observed quite easily that there is a considerable difference in the distribution of illnesses between the rich and the poor. Dr. Spence (Medical Officer of Health for Newcastle-on-Tyne), in his annual Report for 1933, declared, "Since the high incidence of apparent malnutrition is not found in the children of the better class families, it is due to preventable causes. Ill-health, therefore, is not only very widespread, it is unevenly distributed, the poor being much more prone to illness than the rich." The late Dr. Drysdale, Physician to the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, many years ago said that, "while 8 per cent. of the infants of the rich died, the death rate among the very poor was often 40 per cent." According to this, full health is an idle dream so long as poverty persists. Quotations of this kind are unfortunately conspicuously lacking as the authorities have the knack of recording very few of them, and don't seem to encourage research along these lines. They have the idea (or seem to) that it is

not too healthy (politically) to paint the picture too black against their own administration. Yet, Sir George Newman more than once declared, "Health is a purchasable commodity."

When Sir George Newman was Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health and the Board of Education, he stated in 1920 that not less than a million children of school age were so physically or mentally retarded, defective or diseased as to be unable to derive benefit from the State Education provided.

Public Opinion in Preventative Medicine

An article appeared in the *Lancet* (organ of the British Medical Profession), for 5th December, 1942, and in commenting on the Beveridge Report—the forerunner of the National Health Service—declared: "The greatest single cause of ill-health and sub-optimal health, mental and physical, is not a virus or a bacterium, but poverty. So it is the doctor's duty to fight poverty with even greater vigour than he fights the diphtheria bacillus."

If we look at the maternal mortality figures for different districts of London we notice that the maternal mortality for Bermondsey and Paddington (industrial districts), is four times as high as Westminster, and six times as high as Kensington, and twice as high as the average for Greater London. Letchworth, a relatively prosperous garden city with 10,000 insured workers in 1938 out of a total of 17,000, had no maternal deaths in the five years prior to that date.

Another very striking quotation: "During the period 1935 to 1937 more than 10,000 expectant mothers in the poorer districts of South Wales were given special food supplements during pregnancy. As a result the death rate in this group was only about a quarter as great as that in 18,000 who received no food supplements." There are a host of similar figures to prove this.

An interesting experiment has been tried which shows beyond any shadow of doubt the tremendous influence of economic factors on health. In the Papworth Village Settlement for sufferers from tuberculosis, the children living with their tuberculous parents do not develop the disease in spite of this close contact. Sir Pendril Varries Jones, the founder of the Settlement, gives the following reasons for this immunity, reasons which are, in themselves, a striking comment on our society; 1. Adequate food supply. 2. Adequate and prolonged parental income. 3. Freedom from anxiety. 4. No risk of unemployment after breakdown. 5. Proper housing. 6. Public opinion which makes it possible to observe the necessary hygienic conditions without being laughed at. He sums up with the remark, "Economic conditions determine the spread or otherwise of the disease."

H. JARVIS.

CLASS COLLABORATION IN COMMUNIST CHINA

[The Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China makes strikes illegal.]

"NEW CHINA" is not a Socialist country. Despite the claims of the Chinese Communists that the working-class of China has achieved political power; is the leading class in the country; and that "New China" is "a people's democratic dictatorship" (whatever that is supposed to mean), a Socialist society does not obtain there.

The Chinese Communists in their struggle for power

have—following the "revolution" of Sun Yat Sen in 1911—completed the destruction of Feudalism, overthrown the War Lords and have driven the so-called Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland of China to the island of Formosa; and despite their claims to the contrary are building Capitalism—not Socialism—in the People's Republic of China.

With this development of a *bourgeois* mode of production of a Capitalist industrial revolution; and with it a propertyless wage-earning class owning nothing but its labouring power; conflicts and disputes between Capital and Labour are bound to arise. And since the days of Sun Yet Sen, Chinese workers, often with the help of the Communists, have struggled to form Trade Unions in an attempt to improve their standards of living. Since coming to power in 1949 Mao Tse-tung's Communist government has not abolished the Trade Unions; has not forbidden the workers to join them; but has, in fact, encouraged the "All-China Federation of Labour." In fact, like all other "Communist" countries, the Trade Unions are now part of State apparatus—they are "company unions" writ large! This is borne out by *The Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China*; the *Provisional Rules of Procedure for Settling Labour Disputes* and *Labour-Capital Consultative Councils in Private Enterprises* (published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking).

According to the Communists there are four classes in China today—the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; but only wage workers may join Trade Unions. "All manual and non-manual wage workers in enterprises, institutions and schools in Chinese territory whose wages constitute their sole or main means of livelihood, and all wage workers in irregular employment shall have the right to organise trade unions." (Article I of the *Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China*). At the present moment the majority of China's 600 million or so people are not yet wage workers. But in the cities more than half the population constitute wage earners and their dependants. For example, in 1951, about 400,000 of Peking's 2,000,000 people were wage workers, and with their dependants, exceeded 1,200,000. In Shanghai about 3,300,000 of the population of over 6,000,000 in 1951, were wage workers and their dependants.

All Chinese Trade Unions are bound by law to affiliate to the "All-China Federation of Labour" (Article 3) and any organization not belonging to the Federation of Labour "shall not be called a trade union" (Article 4). Articles 5, 6, 7 and 8 state that:—

"Trade Unions in enterprises operated by the State or by cooperatives shall have the right to represent the workers and staff in taking part in administering production and in concluding collective agreements with the management."

"Trade Unions in private enterprises shall have the right to represent and staff members in conducting negotiations with the employers, in taking part in the labour-capital consultative councils and in concluding collective agreements with the employers."

"It is the duty of Trade Unions to protect the interests of workers and staff members, to ensure that the managements or owners effectively carry out labour protection, labour insurance, wage standards, factory sanitation and safety measures as stipulated in the laws and decrees of the government, and other relevant regulations and directions, and to take measures for improving the material and cultural life of the workers and staff members."

"Trade Union organisations at all levels in enterprises operated by the State or by cooperatives shall have the right to ask the managements of the corresponding levels to submit reports on their work to the trade union committees, to the general membership meetings or to representative conferences. They also have the right to represent the workers and staff

members in taking part in administrative boards or administrative meetings at the corresponding levels."

But they do not have the right to go on strike if their claims are not satisfactorily met!

Where a dispute arises between management and labour, and where one side or the other considers that the other party has violated the collective agreement, they may take their complaint to the Government's Labour Bureau. If the complaint is taken to a local government Labour Bureau it may set up an investigation and mediation committee. If agreement is then reached by both sides, through the activities of the investigation committee of the Bureau, it will be signed by the representatives of both parties for registration. If mediation should fail, then the Labour Bureau will set up its own arbitration committee. And, in the words of Article 8 of the *Provisional Rules of Procedure for Settling Labour Disputes*, "The award rendered by the arbitration committee shall be signed by the representative of the Labour Bureau who presides over the committee, and after the award is approved by the Director of the Labour Bureau it shall be notified to both parties to the dispute which it must carry out." Both parties must abide by any agreement reached. If either party does not agree it must inform the Labour Bureau within five days, and must lodge an appeal with the "People's Court" for a final verdict. This is as far as the Trade Unions can go. No worker in Communist China may withdraw his labour-power under any circumstances. Strikes are forbidden. Article 11 is quite clear on this point:—

"After a dispute has broken out, both parties, during the period of consultation, mediation or arbitration, shall maintain the *status quo* in production. The management should not resort to a lock-out, suspend payment of wages, cease providing meals or take any other measures which lower workers' living conditions. Labour shall also maintain production and observe labour discipline. After arbitration by the Labour Bureau, even if one party disagrees and calls for settlement by the Court, the two parties shall nevertheless abide by the arbitration award pending the verdict of the Court."

From *The Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China* it can be seen that the workers of "New China" are unable to organise in genuine Trade Unions; that they are not allowed to call strikes whatever their grievances may be, and that the so-called Trade Unions affiliated to the "All-China Federation of Labour" are Unions mainly in name only, similar to Hitler's "Labour Front" in pre-war Germany. China's "Trade Unions" are allowed to negotiate. But that is all. Their main functions, according to Article 9, of *The Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China*, are to organise the workers to support the laws of the government, carry out the policies of the government; to get the workers to adopt a new attitude towards labour—that is, to observe "labour discipline," to organise "labour emulation campaigns and increase production to ensure the fulfilment of the production plans; to protect public property; to oppose corruption and bureaucracy and to fight "saboteurs" in enterprises operated by the State. In privately-owned enterprises the Trade Unions must help in developing production, "benefitting both labour and capital"—in other words, increasing the exploitation and subjection of the Chinese working-class. The outlook for the masses of China is indeed bleak.

PETER E. NEWELL.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

THE opponents of Socialism and those too lazy or too tired to think, retort that if there were no more fear of the morrow, if the material means of sustenance were guaranteed to every individual from the cradle to the grave as a matter of course, the incentive to work would also be killed. According to this, the rich who are not dependent on, and indeed would think it incompatible with their dignity to work for wages, people whose material existence is assured and who have never known want and insecurity, would long have become entirely degenerate and decrepit from sheer idleness. The propertied class, with their wealth invested in land and estate, in industrial enterprises, in transport and banks, etc., etc., yielding them rent, interest and profit, are still active; not all rich people are indulging in perpetual riotous living, as they could if they wanted to, or if they were stupid enough to do so and invite all kinds of physical troubles, and we see a large number of voluntary organisations devoting themselves to all kinds of activities without the incentive of the wages system; and who will assert that the work of the genuine amateur is less conscientious, less thorough and less fruitful than that of the paid employee?

Children also provide convincing proof that occupation is essential for happiness. They know nothing of the care for the morrow, but no one can say that youth does not want to do anything. On the contrary, they all dream in early years already of what they are going to be, whereby the question of earning money mostly does not yet arise at all. Children's longing for play is almost insatiable, and is play not physical and mental exertion, a pleasure and enjoyment, as all work will be under Socialism when all who work will know that it is directed to a social end of benefit to all.

And for what reward do the millions of mothers undertake the arduous task of bringing up and educating their children? What wages do these mothers get?

Are we work shy?

Opponents of Socialism who would have you believe that once the individual concern for the material existence is removed, man would sink into indolence, they refer to such things as the discontent and aversion to work shown by the general run of workers, their craving for escape, longing for holidays, etc. It is evident, however that just as the increase in crimes against property and general "offences and crime" is no proof of man's inborn or increasing villainy and viciousness, but is due to a defective social organisation, in other words, just as such phenomena are only the product of Capitalist society, people's aversion to work is due only to the CONDITIONS under which that work has to be done. It will be admitted that the conditions of work under Capitalism are anything but idyllic. Apart from the niggardly remuneration of labour, which barely suffices to keep the family from near starvation, not to speak of the denial of partaking in the loftier and nobler things of life, there are all the other brutal features of the class struggle. The end of Capitalism, and therewith of wage-slavery, will put in place of the sordid struggle for existence the healthy cooperation of all for something more than mere food, clothing and shelter, for the greatest possible perfection of physical and mental capacities and therewith for the greatest

possible enjoyment of life. Men will have the possibility of engaging in such occupations as correspond to individual disposition, inclination and capacities, which will make work an enjoyment that nobody will be anxious to shirk. In the fullest sense of the word, men will work in order to live and enjoy, instead of merely living to work.

To listen to the opponent of Socialism, it is evident that he is often unaware of the fluidity of things in this world. Childish as it is, yet he seems to think that the present social arrangements with such features as wage-workers and shareholders, money, banks, dividends, and the rest, have existed from time immemorial, and will always so exist. Yet time was when there was no money, and the all-embracing rule of capital is a fairly recent development. Capitalism is the successor of feudalism, but Capitalism's mad rush really dates from the time of the industrial revolution, from the use of steam and electrically-driven machinery, division of labour, in production and transport, and the opening of the whole world as a market.

Before Capitalism

Slave-labour, by which also the marvellous ancient temples and churches, the tombs, the pyramids, the Colosseum and other astounding edifices were erected; and chattel-slavery and serfdom, by which the medieval castles, abbeys, monasteries, etc., were built, was not wage-labour. The chattel-slave and bondsman who cultivated his master's land, also had a piece of land for his own use, and even in the middle ages most people never saw money in their lives. The labourers were a responsibility of the then master-class who had to care for them, whereas the wage-slave of today is not a responsibility of his employer. He is only hired where and when his labour is required and he can be dismissed if no longer required, or for other reasons. The very terms in common use "giving him or her the sack," or "to be fired" betray in all its brutality the position of the worker on the labour market and show that no sentimentality is shown towards the exploited of today.

Fact is that men have worked under all kinds of conditions and that much of the best work has in the past been done by people who did not work for wages, or, for that matter, for material reward. What incentive did the talented and genial poets and writers, the Greek and other philosophers of old, the composers of immortal music, the painters and inventors, the architects and men of science have? Did they give their labour to the world only for wages or material gain? For what reward was the great research-work in the many fields of science, for example, the life-long painstaking work of a Darwin, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and countless others, done?

If so much of the best work has in the past been and is still being done by people who had no, or little, material reward for their labours (great numbers of them died in penury and downright poverty), is it not ridiculous to say that the only incentive to work is money?

Work and Leisure

With the ownership and control of the machinery for wealth production and distribution taken out of the hands of the exploiting class and their State, with this machinery having become the COMMON PROPERTY

of the people as a whole, all work and services will at last become identified with pleasure and enjoyment of life. As there will be no more need for huge armies of soldiers, police, prisons, lawyers and judges, nor armaments, to protect the property and privileges of a parasite class, all the people engaged in these wasteful occupations will become free to do useful work. When, thanks to the process of production being carried on solely for USE (instead of for profit), no individual will be dependent on another individual for his means of life: in other words: when no worker will be dependent for his livelihood on an employer, no woman on a man, or man on a woman, when no children will be dependent on parents, or *vice-versa*, when the material existence of every human being is the responsibility of society as a matter of course, man will at last have become master over, and be able to enjoy the social wealth created by his forbears and his own hands and brains, instead of being controlled by it. The whole complicated apparatus and mechanism of buying and selling, of advertising, propaganda, insurance, pensions, sick-clubs, tax and customs schemes, welfare and charity organisations, banks, pawnshops, lotteries and pools, etc., etc., will have become unnecessary and disappear.

The disappearance of these institutions and organisations with their insane waste and destruction will free millions of men and women for useful and more dignified occupation. When, in addition to all these people, the now unemployed (rich as well as poor) will share in the process of production and distribution, one can safely assume that the work and services necessary for the material and cultural equipment, maintenance and enjoyment of all members of society can be done with an individual daily average work far less than now.

No longer will men need to tremble when physical misfortune strikes. No more tramping the streets in search of work, no more fear of losing the job, getting in debt and seeing wife and children suffer as a consequence, since no family will be dependent on the fortune or misfortune of one or the other individual member for their material comforts. Nor need people despair when natural disasters occur, earthquakes, floods, fires, tempests, droughts with resultant bad harvests, etc., since under Socialism, with all the marvellous means of transportation at hand, even masses of people can be transferred from stricken areas to other places and homes, and suffering kept at a minimum. Whereas today, under Capitalism, people affected by such natural disasters usually become beggars, dependent on charity, and are soon left to their miserable fate.

Competition replaced by Co-operation

No burden of want, no hunger whip, no struggle to keep the wolf from the door, will be required to make men do the work and carry out the tasks necessary in the interest and for the well-being of society. Moreover, no material want will drive men to commit anti-social acts, theft or murder, or suicide. With the disappearance of Capitalist competition and the fight over markets, which unleash the lowest human passions, the soil on which the commercial "virtues" of greed, jealousy, mistrust, lying, fraud, hypocrisy, corruption, adulteration and swindle of all sorts thrive, will have been uprooted. And therewith—and most important of all—the cause of wars will have been removed from the face of the earth.

There will be NO wages under Socialism; there can

be no payment of any kind since money and buying and selling will have no place. The reward for your activity will be the guaranty of LIFE, a life worth living for everybody. The guaranty will lie in your own activity in co-operation with your fellow men the world over. Your reward will be free access to all means and amenities of life, including all its cultural possibilities. And what greater reward can there be for work and service, even for the exercise of what is called "genius," than the pleasure and enjoyment derived from it by the individual, and the acknowledgment and appreciation by your fellow men? Here, indeed, in this admiration and appreciation, is room and incentive for ambition! Though never will, nor can, a modest average or minimum contribution, physical or mental disability or incapacity, whether on account of illness, accident or otherwise, jeopardize or forfeit the guaranty of material existence for any member of Socialist society.

Stripped of their commodity character as things sold for a price, all material things capable of ministering to human wants and desires will have none but *use-value*. Thus in determining the individual's consumption, no considerations of "cost" or "price" can play any part, since these concepts will have been relegated to the limbo of the past. There can be no question under Socialism of apportioning such and such amount to individuals by some "authority" for work done, time spent, services rendered, or such like. Whatever kind or aspect of human needs and desires there may be, whether in the domain of food, clothing, housing, education or the care of children, the sick and old, cultural aspects, hospitals, sanatoria, travel and transport, everything will be a matter only of production technique and organisation, since financial or private interest considerations of any kind will be out of the way.

R.

"The belief in God has often been advanced as not only the greatest, but the most complete of all the distinctions between man and the lower animals. It is, however, impossible, as we have seen, to maintain that this belief is innate or instinctive in man. On the other hand, a belief in all-pervading spiritual agencies seems to be universal, and apparently follows from a considerable advance in man's reason, and from a still greater advance in his faculties of imagination, curiosity and wonder. I am aware that the assumed instinctive belief in God has been used by many persons as an argument for his existence. But this is a rash argument, as we should thus be compelled to believe in the existence of many cruel and malignant spirits only a little more powerful than man; for the belief in them is far more general than in a beneficent Deity.

"The idea of a universal and beneficent Creator does not seem to arise in the mind of man, until he had been liberated by a long-continued culture."—*The Descent of Man*, Charles Darwin, page 937.)

GLASGOW CITY AND KELVINGROVE BRANCHES SPEAKERS AND GENERAL KNOWLEDGE CLASS

Feb. 1st "The M.C.H. and Current Affairs" I
" 8th " " " II
" 15th " " " III
Tutor at all above Classes - J. RICHMOND
TYPOGRAPHICAL HALL, 69, INGRAM STREET
at 8 p.m.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park ... 3.30-7 p.m.
East Street
(Walworth) February 1st 12.30 p.m.
" 8th 11 a.m.
" 15th 11 a.m.
" 22nd 12.30 p.m.

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at
THE WHITE HART—MITCHAM CRICKET GREEN
(Note new Venue)
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17th, at 8 p.m.
"The Miners March Again"—T. LORD
Buses 44, 77, 80, 88, 115, 118, 152

GLASGOW CITY AND KELVINGROVE BRANCHES PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, 22nd February at 7.30 p.m.
"The Fate of the Workers"
Speakers - J. REID and R. REID
ST. ANDREWS HALLS, BERKELEY STREET
Door 'G,' Room 2

LEWISHAM BRANCH LECTURES

at
DAVENPORT HOUSE, DAVENPORT ROAD,
RUSHEY GREEN, S.E.6
Mondays at 8.15 p.m.
Monday, February 9th
" " 23rd

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

DARTFORD BRANCH

RE-UNION SUPPER

CELEBRATING THE 500TH MEETING OF THE BRANCH
To be held at

"THE BLACK PRINCE" ROCHESTER WAY, BEXLEY, KENT
on FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1959

at 7.30 p.m. (Supper will be Served at 8 p.m.)

Tickets 7/6 (Exclusive of Drinks)

Accommodation is limited so Order your Tickets
Early from

S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent
(Orpington 21431)

H. J. Wilson, 7, Cyril Road, Bexleyheath, Kent
(Bx 1950)

Rochester Way is on the A2. Bexley Station (Dartford Loop Line) is within easy walk of "The Black Prince," Buses 132 and 401, Green Line 725, all Stop outside the Hotel

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

BRISTOL—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRistol 24680.

CHELTHENHAM—Secretary: Ken Smith, 333, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

DUNDEE GROUP—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets monthly on Tuesdays (February 17th) at "White Hart," Mitcham cricket green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wollon Rd., Pencenolgi, Nr. Llanelly

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (Feb. 5th and 19th) at Cynway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 334, South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELS meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. J. Richmond, 24 Southd-an Avenue Glasgow, W.5. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Feb. 4th and 18th) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays Feb. 9th and 23rd at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to P. McKenzie, 112, Cardross Road, Dumbarton.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3, (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: S. Dane, 19, Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Feb. 4th and 18th). 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOI 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7411.

NOTTINGHAM meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m., at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham. Enquiries to Secretary, 83, Portland Road, Waverley Street, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marylebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to M. Rashbass, 51 Northbrook Road, Ilford. Telephone Ilford 1109.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Feb. 1st "A City Speaks"—V. PHILLIPS.

" 8th "A British Trade Union"—T. LORD.

" 15th "Lenin"—E. HARDY.

This film runs for 1½ hours and will start on time.

" 22nd "Hungary Aflame"—

Mar. 1st "Shadow Over the World"—MICHAEL

" 8th "The Vision of William Blake"—E. Kersley.

DEBATE IN BRISTOL

CO-OP HALL, PREWETT STREET, BRISTOL, 1

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, at 7 p.m.

"Which Party should the Working Class Support, the Labour Party or The Socialist Party of Great Britain?"

Labour Party—B. K. PREUSS (organiser Div. 5, N.C.L.C.)
S.P.G.B.—M. HARRIS.

PUBLICATION DATE OF
"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Detach and forward, with remittance, to Literature Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Please send SOCIALIST STANDARD for 12 months (6 months, 4/-) for which 7/6 is enclosed.

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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No. 655 Vol. 55 March, 1959

MIKOYAN'S BLUFF

LORD KITCHENER

THE FUTURE LABOUR OFFERS YOU

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

Registered for transmission
to Canada

Monthly

6^D

The Passing Show

Misrepresentation

Recently Lord Birdwood protested in the House of Lords about "misrepresentations of conditions in Britain which, he said, had followed an interchange of journalists with Czechoslovakia last year" (*Manchester Guardian*, 11/2/59). One Czech newspaper, said Lord Birdwood, "carried a report of a bearded beggar, covered by a tarpaulin and with his feet in a paper sack, who lay asleep in Hyde Park 'not far from glittering Piccadilly.' This was intended to indicate that Britain could not maintain work and homes for all its citizens."

* * *

False information

Lord Home replied for the Government and defended the interchange. We had to accept, he said, "that there was a risk that journalists in Communist countries might toe the party line and produce the kind of misrepresentation of which Lord Birdwood had given examples." There is no doubt, he lamented, "that from time to time we will find people coming here from other countries and reporting false information."

The Czech newspapers, of course, would be very glad to tell their readers how badly off the British people were, in order to take their minds off the conditions which they have to endure under Czech capitalism. But to return to Lord Birdwood's protest about misrepresentation.

* * *

Mutual admiration society

It is not recorded that any of the other peers expressed surprise at this Birdwood-Home duet. Augustine Birrell once said that the House of Lords represent nobody but themselves, and they enjoy the full confidence of their constituents. On this kind of performance, they certainly have little claim to the confidence of anyone else. For on the very same day as Lords Birdwood and Home were being indignant about foreign journalists suggesting that "Britain could not maintain work for its citizens," in the House of Commons (whose members have to be elected, and therefore must maintain some kind of contact with the real world), the Minister of Labour was announcing that six hundred and twenty thousand of the citizens of Britain were unemployed. This means that six hundred and twenty thousand workers in this country are being denied by capitalism the chance to be of use to society, that hundreds of thousands of families are living on the dole and going short perhaps of those very things which the father of the family is not allowed to make because no one will get a profit out of it. Presumably Lord Birdwood hasn't

heard about these 620,000 unemployed now drawing the dole. None of them, it is safe to say, belong to the House of Lords; nor do Lords Birdwood and Home have to remember their votes at the General Election—however baseless their statements are, the noble lords are in the happy position of knowing that at the General Election they will be returned to Parliament without the vulgar necessity of being voted for.

Housing

And what about the other part of the complaint? Surely that is justified? For the Tories make a great boast of their treatment of the housing situation. Since they took office each responsible Minister had been beating his chest about his successes in housing the people: foundation-stones have been laid, ceremonial openings performed, and our ears filled with torrents of speeches about how lucky the workers are to be having so much done for them.

And the facts? For BBC television, Robert Reid investigated the housing situation in Glasgow seven years ago, when the Conservatives had just been returned to power. There were then 100,000 applicants on the town's housing list. Last month he returned to Glasgow to estimate progress. The number now on the housing list? 126,000.

But despite these facts, it is "misrepresentation" and "false information" according to Lords Birdwood and Home—to say that Britain cannot maintain work and homes for her people.

How comforting it must be not to know the facts of life under our social system! How fine to be able to assume that because you have a home and a solid income, everyone else has too! In short, how lovely to be a Lord!

The pot speaks up

You don't have to be a baron to know nothing about what goes on. You can be quite ignorant even if you're only a knight.

Sir Hugh Foot, Governor of Cyprus, commenting the other day on the Eoka truce, said: "There will be no bargaining with violence" (*Manchester Guardian*, 14/1/59). No bargaining with violence! If there was no

bargaining with violence, there would be no politics at all. For violence—that is war and armed conflict—is only the "continuation of politics by other means," as Clausewitz put it. Sir Hugh may have forgotten, but the country on whose behalf he rules over Cyprus not only doesn't condemn violence as a means of solving capitalism's problems—it has actually engaged in two colossally destructive wars on a world-wide scale within the last half-century, and is now arming so that it will not be left out if a third one begins. Sir Hugh raised no voice against the violence used by Britain in the second world war, which included dropping atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a joint death roll admitted by the Allies to be at least 120,000. Sir Hugh reserves his condemnation of violence for the agents of the would-be Cypriot ruling class, when they use the same methods—killing and destroying—which all the capitalist powers have used to further their ends in every war they have ever engaged in. This does not justify Eoka: but a British Governor can no more complain about the violence of others than one iceberg can complain how chilly the other icebergs are.

When only the best will do

Many of the goods which crowd the shop-windows are only shoddy stuff, botched-up to sell at the cheapest price and yield the highest profit. But a Johannesburg reader sends me a cutting revealing that at least one article designed for the workers' consumption is made to the highest specifications. The item was in the *Johannesburg Star* (30/12/58):—

"Rubber batons, designed and made in the Union, will gradually replace wooden batons in the police."

"An order for 1,000 rubber batons, which have been approved by the Bureau of Standards, has been placed with a large rubber concern."

So any unemployed South African worker, tenderly feeling his head after the dispersal of demonstrations, can comfort himself by reflecting that the lump upon it has been raised by a precision-made instrument of the first quality, and that the throb in his temples carries with it the full approval of the Bureau of Standards.

ALWYN EDGAR.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR—III

Preparation and Prospects

AS the year 1861 opened the future opponents of the American Civil War stood glowering at each other.

The war was only a few months away, but it was still difficult to descry any clear-cut differences between North and South. The Confederacy's President—Jefferson Davis—had been strongly Unionist, until he saw control of the Union slipping from the South's hands. His Vice-President—Alexander Stephens—had opposed secession right until the moment when his own State of Georgia contracted out. There was also confusion on the issue of slavery, many prominent Southerners opposing it, whilst the Lincoln Government had often stated that it had no intention of abolishing it. Perhaps the most famous Southerner to oppose slavery was General Robert E. Lee—the North actually invited him at the start of the war to take command of its forces, but he refused. Especially confused

was the Northern State of Maryland, where there was much sympathy for the Confederates. Plenty of Americans thought that the seceded States had taken a perfectly legal and constitutional action and that, whatever military precautions the two sides may take, the quarrel would blow over.

Fort Sumpter Falls

The first important dispute after secession came as each side began to draw up its strength, and was about the possession of military forts and recruitment of manpower. First, the Union Government ordered all the border States to place their troops under Washington's control. Promptly, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee and North Carolina joined the rebels, as a protest against this attempt at federal coercion. More ominous were the rumblings around the army forts in the Southland.

The Confederates argued that, although the forts were

occupied by United States troops, the land on which they stood had only been leased to the Government. Now that the Southern States had left the Union, their occupation by Federal forces was illegal and intolerable. Interest became centred on Fort Sumpter at Charleston, which the Governor of South Carolina had been planning to take over since December, 1860. Southern Congressmen warned Lincoln that any attempt to relieve Sumpter would lead to war and sure enough on January 9th, 1861, the steamer, *Star of the West*, sent to the fort, was fired on and forced to withdraw. An uneasy peace brooded over Fort Sumpter until April, when Confederate General Beauregard, learning of a Union convoy on the way to raise the siege, bombarded it into surrender. Although many other forts had been taken in the South, Sumpter had become an important symbol, and its fall touched off a unifying passion in the Union. It may also be said to have marked the start of the war.

Since February, the South had been seriously preparing its war effort. After Sumpter, Lincoln replied by calling for 75,000 militia, to serve for three months (later altered to three years) and announcing a blockade of every Southern port from South Carolina to Texas. On May 6th the Confederate Congress passed an Act which recognised the existence of a state of war with the Union and shots were exchanged in Virginia and at Camp Jackson, St. Louis. There had been almost a year of increasing tension and bitterness. That was at an end. Hope was finished, too. The world's first modern war had started, with its savagery and terror.

Prospects

What were the strength, the weaknesses and prospects of either side? The Northern population was about 22

GENERAL ELECTION—APPEAL FOR FUNDS

The Socialist Party needs money urgently for the General Election.

In East London our members have already been working for months, preparing an all out campaign in the Bethnal Green constituency. Meetings are being held, canvassers are going from door to door, the local papers are advertising our activities.

This work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

We have great hopes for this campaign. Last year's L.C.C. elections in the same area gave the encouragement we needed. This time we believe we can achieve still more for the Socialist cause in this constituency.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

We shall not hoard it. We shall spend it almost immediately on more work for the next election's only Socialist campaign.

million; the Southern between 5 and 6 million, plus about 4 million negroes. In 1860 the United States Army had numbered about 16,000; of these, the Southern States had the nucleus of an army in the forces controlled by each State. About 3 million men served in the war in the Union forces, 2 million of them 23 years old or younger—an ideal age for soldiers. On the other hand, the Confederates' smaller population forced them to conscript all men between 17 and 55. When the war opened the volunteers on both sides were numerous, but as the thing dragged on the spirit declined. In the South, poor dirt farmers joined open combat with Confederate patrols and draft officials, whilst in the North, Chicago suffered anti-conscription riots.

The South was full of hope. Although the Act of Secession had cut them off from the new lands in the West, they thought that their raw materials could be traded for manufactures from the growing capitalist powers of Europe. These manufactures, ran the optimistic argument, would compensate for the rebels' lack of industrial power. Here lay the South's weakness, for as the agricultural area of the United States, they had left manufacturing to the North. They had next to no factories and what they had were mainly worked by Northerners, who returned to their home States when the war started; this was disastrous to the railway repair shops. The rebels had only one works—at Tredegar, in Richmond—where they could cast a gun or make a marine engine: the States Armouries were deficient, and at the start of the war there were no powder mills. There was hardly any iron and unseasoned wood had to be used in shipbuilding. All of this meant that, among other things, the rebels would not be able to break the blockade which the Union Navy kept on its ports. It also meant that recognition of the Confederacy by the European Powers was a wild dream. But the South was blind to all this; their population may have been only a quarter that of the North, but they had plenty of men who got their living planting and hunting, who were used to horseback and hardened to a spartan outdoor life. They could handle guns and, apart from a dislike of organised discipline, were ideal material for soldiers. When the time came, they were to fight hard and tenaciously. The aristocratic pretensions of the South had bred a group of accustomed leaders: men like Lee and Johnston, Stonewall Jackson and Jeb Stuart, all brilliant commanders. Yes, the South was full of hope: one rebel, they said, was worth any ten Yankees.

The Yankees

And the North? Industrially, they had it all. But they needed a machine—the sort to which the 20th century has become accustomed—to change their population of factory and merchanting workers into soldiers. It took them a few years; but in the end they did it, reaching their peak of organisation when Sherman's troopers blasted their way across the heart of the Confederacy, like any crack Commando brigade. "The Yankees dare not fight," said many a cocky Southerner at the war's beginning. The next few years showed that the Yankees could not only fight—they could also march and plunder, and hound an entire army to destruction.

JACK LAW.

(To be concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE

A READER'S VIEWS ON RUSSIA AND CHINA

We have received a letter from a reader who disagrees with our attitude towards the Communist parties. The letter is reproduced below and is followed by our reply. For convenience we have numbered the sections of his letter.

Dear Comrade,

Derby.

(1) I read the SOCIALIST STANDARD with interest, but not always with agreement. In particular, I am not sure that you are correct in your assessments of the nature of Soviet and Chinese society. If they are "State Capitalist" and not "Socialist," why is it that the "Private capitalist States" fear them from consideration of their social and economic nature and not merely as "imperialist rivals."

(2) To state that a society must go through a phase of capitalist development before it can move on to Socialism is to make a dogma of Marxism and to imply that the man himself was infallible and the fount of all truth.

(3) The theory of Socialism is easy enough to understand, all that is required is some intelligence: it is not necessary that a man live in a highly industrialised capitalist society before the light of Socialism can begin to shine in his eyes. It follows therefore that a whole people, say, six hundred million Chinese, can become sufficiently enlightened to seek to establish a Socialist society even though they may not have enough industrial power to make a bloomin' push-bike.

PUBLIC MEETING

**..if we are
to survive**

7pm

Sunday 15 March

Denison House

296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd Victoria SW1

Speakers Costor May Wilmot

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1959

That is to say, political understanding may run far ahead of economic development. In that event the people take possession of their land and such industry and "means of distribution and exchange" as stand on the land, and proceed from there. That, comrade, is Socialism. They can each render service "according to his ability," but cannot receive goods and services "according to his needs." That, comrade, would be Communism. Why, if a Chinaman has an abdominal pain, it is unlikely if there will be a medico within a hundred miles to administer a dose of salts, but because he cannot receive "according to his needs" it does not follow that somebody is exploiting him.

(4) It follows from this that, given this basis of society, some system of priorities must be established. They cannot all be adequately fed until they have tilled a lot of land, or adequately clothed until they have grown a lot of cotton and reared a lot of sheep.

And they cannot even make a screwdriver, let alone a motor car, until they have mined some coal and iron ore and built a blast furnace.

Meanwhile, they have to suffer great privation. That is just bad luck, but does not mean that they are being "exploited." I have a hunch that the Chinese are doing fine. They are using every bit of machinery and tools that are at hand, and even smelt iron ore in little brick-built fireplaces.

(5) And as for the trials and "liquidations," well, it is sheer political innocence to pretend that when the power of the workers and peasants is established that they will have no more enemies, and that the dispossessed parasites will begin to love them. It is utterly naive to imagine that capitalism can be liquidated and Socialism consolidated without a little bit of "roughness."

Comrade, I reckon history is passing you by. Your Socialism is purist and idealistic, but bears no relationship to the stark reality of the state of the world.

Fraternally,

E. C. RUSHTON.

REPLY

(1) State Capitalist Russia

Our correspondent tells us that the private capitalist States fear Russia and China not merely because they are "imperialist rivals," but from consideration of their social and economic nature. He gives no evidence for his belief and, as it happens, the man who is widely regarded as the chief exponent of opposition to Russian policy, Mr. Foster Dulles, has just told Mr. Mikoyan that the Russian system is "State capitalism." (This is dealt with in our Editorial.)

(2) Was Marx Right?

If our correspondent wants to show that it is possible for society to advance straight into Socialism without going through the phase of capitalist development all he has to do is to show where this has happened. It is now over 40 years since the Communists came to power in Russia with the declared intention of doing this—with total lack of success.

(3) Socialism, Communism and State Capitalism

In paragraph (3) of his letter our correspondent gives a definition that will fit State capitalism, and then declares: "That, comrades, is Socialism." He further declares that Communism is something quite different and gives it a quite different definition.

This, of course, is the piece of political trickery used

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1959

by the Russian Government. It was not the view held by Marx, to whom Socialism and Communism were synonymous terms. It has never been the view of the S.P.G.B., which adhered to the Marxian view.

What is more, it was not, in the first place, the view of the Communists who gained power in Russia in 1917. When Lenin held that "State capitalism" would be a step forward for Russia he called it State capitalism. (Lenin, *The Chief Tasks of Our Times*.)

When the late Maxim Litvinoff, in 1918, told us that the Communists in Russia would "in no distant future establish a Socialist régime in Russia," he did not mean that after 40 years they would have State capitalism and would call that "Socialism." (See *The Bolshevik Revolution*, 1918, Page 53.)

He was using the term as it was habitually then used by him and his fellow Communists to mean the same as the term "Communism." As late as 1923 the Communist Party of Great Britain published an English edition of *A Short Course of Economic Science*, by A. Bogdanoff, and this work was declared to be the standard textbook "in hundreds if not thousands of party schools and study circles now functioning in Soviet Russia." This work defined "the Socialist system" as "the highest stage of society we can conceive" (p. 391).

This is quite irreconcilable with our correspondent's version, which claims that Socialism already exists in Russia. In view of Khrushchev's recent declaration that Russia would soon abolish income tax (but not the much larger turnover tax and profits tax) it is interesting to recall that this same book said that "With the establishment of Socialism, all taxes . . . will become superfluous, because the whole of the social product, necessary as well as surplus, will be at the disposal of society, to be used for the satisfaction of its requirements" (p. 295).

When our correspondent says that he sees the light of Socialism in 600 million Chinese eyes all he means is State Capitalism, and even for that he gives not a tittle of evidence.

(4) Defence of Inequality

What our correspondent here describes as a necessary system of "priorities," because "they cannot all be

adequately fed," is just a Russian and Chinese version of the defence the privileged class offers in every capitalist country for the inequality that sustains their privileged position.

Here again this modern Russian version is a glaring departure from what the Communists said in the early years. Lenin had at first laid down the principle that as an immediate step they would introduce equal wages throughout the Russian system, all officials, etc., to receive approximately the "ordinary pay of the workers." And when they gave this up Lenin said frankly that the introduction of high salaries for a minority was "not merely a halt in a certain part and to a certain degree of the offensive against Capitalism . . . but also a step backwards." (*Soviets of Work*, Lenin, April, 1918).

Now the "step backwards" to inequality has become the normal principle of what our correspondent claims to be "Socialism."

Our correspondent says, "they," the masses, "have to suffer great privation"—but not the privileged rulers and other favoured groups.

(5) Trials and Liquidations

Here our correspondent gives us a little lecture on the necessity of "roughness" towards the dispossessed parasites, and ends with the remark that history has passed us by.

To which we may retort that it is news to us that the thousands of Hungarian workers who, 2½ years ago were shot down by the Russian army, were "dispossessed parasites."

On the contrary, the new parasites are doing very well in the new State capitalist countries wrongly called Socialist.

And when our correspondent tells us of his "hunch that the Chinese are doing fine" (though he also says the masses are suffering great privation) it is he who is turning a blind eye to the fact that over 40 years of Communist rule in Russia has produced not Socialism, but State capitalism. If the Chinese workers model themselves on the experience of Russia their efforts will prove to be equally misdirected.

ED. COM.

BOOK REVIEW

WAR LORD—THE RISE OF JINGO HERBERT

"Your Country Needs You," says the caption; and the Field-Marshal, with his heavily-braided cap and enormous moustache points and stares straight at You. This, the most famous of all recruiting-posters, has served to keep the memory of Lord Kitchener alive when other famous Generals and War-leaders have been long forgotten. The poster has become an object of amusement, such expressions of patriotic sentiment being too crude and old-fashioned to serve the purposes of propaganda today. Nationalism and patriotism are still strong, but the propaganda necessary for their maintenance has become more sophisticated.

Kitchener was the idol of millions. The myth of his military prowess was carefully fostered by the Press, particularly the Tory Press. He was the embodiment of mistaken ideas and ideals about British Capitalism that

became common among workers during the thirty years preceding 1914, and still have tremendous force today, though in different outward forms. For this reason Kitchener's life and times are still of interest. He has attracted the attention of an able biographer in Philip Magnus, whose *Kitchener, Portrait of an Imperialist*, is an interesting and generally very readable account of one of Britain's most influential leaders. Mr. Magnus does not attempt to glorify Kitchener—the gap between myth and actuality as presented in the book amounts almost to debunking. He does not write from any particular political viewpoint, though in an occasional purple passage he pays his respects to the Gun-boat politics and politicians of the 19th century. He puts Kitchener's battles in their proper military perspective—and thereby robs his subject of much of the glory. The sources of information are

excellent: the papers of the Salisbury family, who have been for long prominent in Tory politics, have been extensively drawn upon.

Kitchener was born in 1850, the son of a professional soldier who had the misfortune never to see active service; a mistake that Herbert Kitchener was to strenuously avoid. Being commissioned in the Engineers, he did not for long restrict himself to the dull tasks of surveying and land registration. He displayed considerable zeal and took good care to see that his efforts were brought to the notice of prominent politicians and military leaders at home. His energy and enthusiasm, together with his growing prestige among Tory politicians, led to quick promotion. He became the driving force behind the re-organisation of the Egyptian Army. He occupied increasingly important positions in Egypt, becoming Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Egypt was a British sphere of influence; in fact, if not in name, a British possession. Kitchener's dreams of military glory were at last realised in 1898, when the British Government decided to reconquer the Sudan. The Mahdists were decisively beaten at Omdurman. Kitchener led an efficient well-armed force (there were Maxim-guns, artillery and gun-boats in the Anglo-Egyptian force) against poorly-armed poorly-trained Dervishes. The victory was certainly well-organised, even to the counting of the slain enemy. Kitchener showed his characteristic care for economy by cutting the medical services to the bone.

During the Boer War, first as second-in-command to Lord Roberts and later as Commander-in-Chief, Kitchener showed serious limitations that later, during the 1914-18 war, were to make him a nuisance to the British Government. In spite of his errors at the battle of Paardeberg his popularity in England increased. He had interesting techniques for dealing with recalcitrant populations; many of the inmates of his concentration camps in South Africa died because of insanitary conditions and lack of proper medical attention.

After the Boer war he went to India where, according to Magnus, he spent his time quarrelling with the Viceroy, Curzon, over the control of the Indian Army.

Kitchener meanwhile had become a man of wealth and property. He owned a large house and estate in Kent; he obtained considerable financial rewards for his services to the furthering of British Imperialism. He became joint owner with three of his friends of considerable land in Kenya. There was a law against non-residents holding land there, but the authorities obligingly modified the rules for Kitchener's benefit.

The 1914-18 war provided Kitchener with his greatest opportunity to serve the British Ruling Class. He was appointed Secretary of State for War, with a seat in the Cabinet. In 1916 he was on his way to Russia to investigate the military situation there when the cruiser "Hampshire" in which he was travelling, struck a mine and sank. His death must have come as a relief to his fellow-members of the Cabinet; for by then he had outlived his practical usefulness and had remained in office only because of his tremendous popularity, which made him invaluable for recruiting new armies.

"Send a Gun-Boat"

Kitchener's times can provide all the explanation that is needed of his popularity and influence. He was born into an age thirsting for Glory. A large section of the ruling-class saw the British Empire not merely as a string

of outposts and a market for British goods, but as the possible basis of their own future prosperity; as sources of raw materials and unlimited land for development.

The Education Acts of the 19th century had caused a big rise in literacy among workers. The 1890's saw the rise of the popular press. All the conditions were there for myth-making: Imperialist aims, the Press, and a large mass of people leading drab lives who needed dreams to make their lives more palatable. England, according to the Imperialists, was to be the centre of a world-wide prosperous Empire, despotically, but benevolently administered, Kitchener grew up in this atmosphere of "showing the flag," when an affront to a British Citizen could lead to the despatch of a gun-boat. He was not slow to find a place in the schemes of Tory politicians. Kitchener was their wonder-soldier; of impressive appearance, his very coldness and aloofness were an advantage in building up the myth of his invincibility. The cold, distant figure can be more easily endowed with wonderful, mysterious qualities than can the ordinary human being. He became the embodiment of Patriotism, the God-like soldier ordering with a benevolent iron hand how the fuzzle-wuzzies shall live and work. Kitchener played an important part in rousing workers' enthusiasm for Capitalism. The Jingoism of these days, crude as it is, is not dead even today, as the response to the Suez crisis showed.

Ironically, Kitchener achieved his greatest popularity and power just as the opportunities for his type of Empire-building were beginning to disappear. The days of the conquest of vast territories by small forces armed with rifle, Maxim-gun, and a few pieces of light artillery, were drawing to a close. The backward areas of the world had been cut up; Africa had been parcelled out among the European powers with Britain taking the lion's share. New conquests could only be made at the expense of other Capitalist powers.

The outbreak of war in 1914 placed Kitchener in a situation that was completely foreign to his training and experience. The days of small-scale war in Europe were over. War became a messy, chaotic business where squares, columns, cavalry attacks and the type of technical preparation necessary to send gun-boats up the Nile were to be out of place. No one man could hope to take complete control of a battle, as Kitchener had done in the Sudan, for the battle-front was hundreds of miles long. The first world-war was a tremendous clash of large industrial powers; Kitchener as an organiser of this large-scale war was ineffectual; the organisation of millions of men and mountains of munitions was beyond him. He was gradually stripped of his power, Lloyd George taking over in 1915 the organisation of supplies by being appointed head of the newly-created Ministry of Munitions. Kitchener still had an important part to play, however, a part that kept him in office until his death. He was to give the Jingoism of the British Workers its greatest expression. He led an appeal to patriotic sentiment that created an enormous army on a voluntary basis. This appeal was Kitchener's last and greatest service to British Capitalism. "Jingo" was to become a dirty word, but much too late to be of any help to the workers. Such was the importance of this appeal that little outspoken criticism was voiced in public until after his death.

Kitchener's poster provokes a smile today, but the humour evaporates quickly when the appalling results of supporting national Capitalist groups is considered.

Millions died and millions more were disabled in a war fought over profits, markets and sources of raw materials. No working-class interests were at stake; far from the post-war period bringing "a world fit for heroes," 1921 brought slump and unemployment, even to the victors. The boast of 1918, "this is a war to end wars," proved empty. Within a few years Europe was preparing for another great conflict.

Even Kitchener's dream of Empire came to little. Forty years after his death Nasser had succeeded in throwing Britain out of Egypt and had nationalized the Suez canal. All the conniving of French, British and Israeli politicians could not put the glorious dream together again. Egypt and the Sudan have gone, with Egyptian and Sudanese politicians bidding for the support of the new Dollar-Rouble Imperialisms.

The Myth

Capitalism needs myths to keep it alive. They are an important part of the ideology which provides the justifications for men's actions. Mincing another human being with machine-gun fire is unthinkable to most people without the ennoblement of the Myth. Kitchener helped

to provide a cloak of dignity for what calmly considered can only be called inhuman, murderous action.

The futility of the fighting on the western front, the advances measured in yards with casualties measured in thousands, were to discredit Jingoism. It was to be replaced in future conflicts by an appeal that was more subtle and which was accompanied by universal conscription, just to make sure.

The myth built around Kitchener was replaced by other myths with a rather different appeal, though none of them, not even Winston Churchill, had the power of the cold, sadistic Victor of Omdurman.

Capitalism elevated Kitchener, a harsh, inhuman man, to high rank, enormous fame and considerable fortune. He was to outlive his practical usefulness because of changes in methods of warfare to which he was incapable of adapting himself. He showed little real awareness of the enormous problems of organisation confronting the British Government in 1914.

The myth outlived Kitchener—it came to its end in the hideous, futile battles of the Somme and Passchendael—drowned in rivers of working-class blood.

F. IVIMEY.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Annual Conference. March 27th, 28th and 29th are the dates for Annual Conference this year, earlier than is usual, but as Conference is an interesting and pleasant occasion for Comrades, it is hardly likely that the dates will be overlooked. Conference should be particularly interesting, there are many items on the agenda which call for constructive discussion. An election in the offing, with Hackney Branch and the Parliamentary Committee well prepared, with the aid of Comrades, to see that the campaign goes well. A resume of the past year's work which has shown wider activity on the part of Branches, who in London and the Provinces have held many propaganda meetings throughout the year. In addition to the work done at Conference, there is the get-together of Comrades, an always happy occasion, the Social and Dance on the Saturday, which if last year is a guide, should be a really jolly occasion. A Rally is being organised by the Propaganda Committee, and details of these two latter items are given fully elsewhere in this issue.

Head Office Film Lectures. The last two "fixtures" for this season are being held on March 1st and 8th. No plans have been made for the 15th March as Paddington Branch are holding their well-planned meeting at Denison House that evening.

Ireland. Our Comrades in Dublin are very active these days; they have rented the Boiler Makers' Hall for one evening a week, meeting every Wednesday. One of the items to which they are giving urgency, is their policy and approach to propaganda. They have six or seven "contacts" wishing to join the Party and with these proposed new members, they look forward to extending their work generally. It is hoped that within the next month or so, a much fuller report of their progress will be forthcoming.



Hackney Branch and the Election. Details of a public meeting on April 13th and a list of canvassing dates and meeting spots are given in this issue. Hackney Branch stress that in order to achieve a successful campaign, the participation of members of other branches is absolutely essential. This reminder should not be necessary, of course, as the decision to contest the election is one taken by the Party as a whole and therefore must be a Party effort. Comrades who are not near at hand to give direct assistance can help by spreading the news of our programme and seeking contributions to the necessary additional funds needed.

"No Useful Purpose Would Be Served." Islington Branch report that Comrade J. McGuinness, the Branch Organiser, is temporarily working in Newcastle, and although there is no Party Branch in the vicinity to which he could direct his lively energy, he continues to be as active as ever on behalf of the Party. In correspondence with his Branch, he tells of two letters published in the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* which he wrote attacking the policy of the Social Credit Political League which is active in Newcastle. Com. McGuinness was successful

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

MARCH



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OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone: MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

MIKOYAN'S BLUFF CALLED

RECOGNITION of the truth sometimes comes out of strange places and no one could have been more surprised than Mr. Mikoyan that it should have been Mr. Dulles who told him that he, Mikoyan, does not know what Socialism is. But so it happened.

It was at the end of the Russian Deputy Prime Minister's visit to America. When all the dinners and interviews, the speeches, and cocktail parties were over, the time came to part. Mr. Mikoyan gave his farewell message to reporters at the airport, and said:—

"Socialist society in our country will develop whether you like it or not, and whether we want it or not. American capitalism is still strong. The conclusion is that we must be tolerant of each other and come to agreement."
(Daily Telegraph, 21st January, 1959.)

Then came the slap in the eye from Mr. Dulles, in a telegram to Mikoyan:—

"The President is aware that you operate under a system of State capitalism, and he hopes that has been useful to you to have seen the progress of our people under our system of individual capitalism. We are sure that you have found the experience interesting."
(Daily Telegraph, 21st January, 1959.)

We have no doubt that Mr. Mikoyan found it a novel and interesting experience to have his bluff called at top level about the fake "Socialism" of Russia, and bluntly to be told that Dulles sees it for what it really is, "State Capitalism."

May we hope from this beginning that the representatives of all the countries will, at U.N. and other international gatherings, develop the habit of calling State and private capitalism by their proper name everywhere and on all occasions?

And while we are pondering the curious ways in which truth may emerge we should not fail to comment on one little truth Mr. Mikoyan spilled unintentionally. In his own message he said that Socialist society will

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develop in Russia "whether we" (i.e., Mikoyan and his friends) "want it or not."

We could not have put it better ourselves.

DIRTY WORK

Most of the objections raised are really nothing but silly prejudices that for obvious reasons are being assiduously fostered by our masters who have an interest in preventing the possibility of an alteration of the social system.

To these arguments or prejudices belongs also the ever recurring question: Who would do the so-called dirty work? It would seem that the greater part of the useful work indispensable for the daily life of the whole of society, is classified under this latter category—dirty work. One can understand that such questions are raised by the wealthy, and that any answer you could give would leave them unconvinced. But that the workers who have always done this "dirty work," and under conditions that will have no place under Socialism, should echo these doubts, is certainly curious. For it ought to be clear that it is only the present economic system that condemns men and women to a daily eight or more hours of monotonous toil and attaches a STIGMA or SOCIAL INFERIORITY to almost every productive work that is indispensable for the daily life of society. After the abolition of this idiotic system and the disappearance of class privileges, the stigma of social inferiority will, of course, no longer attach to any work whatever, just as even today no such stigma attaches, for example, to the medical profession. In spite of their often extremely unpleasant, unclean and distasteful work, the physician and surgeon enjoy general esteem and dignity. Much of the really obnoxious work, including the production of bombs and tanks and other instruments of mass murder, and the work of jailers, and police, will no longer be necessary. There will be no need either for any man to spend time down in the bowels of the earth digging coal and other minerals to be squandered in battleships and transport of war material to the ends of the world. On the other hand, with the daily improvement of mechanical devices, with the aid of mechanical cleaning equipment and the innumerable contrivances now available, the job of doing the "dirty work" will be considerably facilitated and become "cleaner."

It ought to be perfectly obvious that with a radically changed social basis and background, man's ideas and outlook on life are bound to undergo a corresponding change. As the change from Capitalism to Socialism is the greatest event in human history, ending as it will, the age-long rule of property and with it the exploitation of man by man, and establishing in its place the Socialist commonwealth where money rules no more, the change which it is bound to produce on all aspects, will be correspondingly profound.

Let the big businessmen and politicians, the Stock Exchange gamblers, dividend hunters, lottery and insurance experts, company promoters and directors, with their police-chiefs, dictators, generalissimos, executives and executioners, bishops, priests and parsons, and the rest of the lackeys of capital, laugh or weep or tremble at such "preposterous" proposals! But what can they offer as an alternative to Socialism? Nothing but the continuance of the hellish system of Capitalism! It is for you to choose.

R. F.

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PARTY NEWS BRIEFS—continued from page 39

in getting the S.P.G.B.'s case clearly stated.

More recently, he wrote to the N.E. District Branch of the Communist Party in Newcastle, inviting them to a debate with the S.P.G.B. True to form, the offer was rejected by their Secretary whose reply contained the phrase which appears to be reserved for the Socialist Party... "My Committee have decided that no useful purpose would be served by having any debate with your organisation."

* * *
Paddington Branch Meeting at Denison House on Sunday, March 15th. Much preliminary work has gone into the arrangements for this meeting, and by now members will have seen full details elsewhere in this issue, also the earlier notices in the January and February issues. The Branch made these earlier announcements in

FILMS

THOSE WHO DOUBT that contemporary society fails to satisfy the needs of the majority of people should look at the ways in which so many cherish remote hopes of escaping from their position in it. It is natural to want to break away from wage slavery. The chances are slim, but the likelihood that one's subject position in the present order of things will continue without respite until one's dying day, is a dismal contemplation. How many dreams, we wonder, are sealed down with the football coupon?

The new film *Room at the Top*, which is based on the best-selling novel by John Braine, portrays a young man who is fed up with the compromise and blows to his self-respect imposed in holding his Town Hall clerkship. Determined to get out of the rut of the grim northern industrial town he was born into, he goes to settle on the fringe of a world of big houses, spacious gardens, expensive cars. Once there, he pursues his aim of making the right social contacts in order to gain the highest rung on the ladder of success.

Lucky Break Story

"The Top" for him is really that no-man's land where higher paid members of the working class mingle with the smaller industrialists and the like. But fortunately for our social climber, the daughter of one of the bigger fish is a member of the local dramatic society and this gives him his chance to break in.

This is another cherished notion for those who find it unpleasant to face dreary reality. Known as the "lucky break," here it takes the form of marrying the boss's daughter. Stories in popular magazines rely heavily on these situations, but some of today's best-selling novels, widely acclaimed by the critics, fall back on them, too. The trend in this field is for boys of the working class, who have achieved grammar school education, to be recognised by employers as superior to the pampered products of their own class. Acceptance and promotion to executive positions soon follow and the boy moves up in the social scale.

The storm of praise that greeted *Room at the Top* when it was published in 1957 revealed the critics agreeing that this was the stuff of which contemporary dreams are made.

ROOM AT THE TOP

Signs of Success

The ambition to "get on" and achieve a higher status in life helps to give stories such as these their wide popularity. It is recognised that only money can bring this status in such an acquisitive world as we live in. The desire for recognition in this sense is reflected in the outward signs necessary to prove to the world and oneself that you are a success. The competitive nature of the Capitalist way of life breeds the feelings of insecurity and isolation that make people strive for this kind of success.

The process is endless. The same forces that make a £10-a-week person believe that he can only be contented on £15, will still make him, once he gets it, dissatisfied on less than £20. Not to mention the sacrifices that might have to be made in order to get it. This does not mean that we should not aim to get as much from Capitalism as we can. It does mean that this approach to the satisfying of human needs is a limited one. It cannot solve the predicament with which human beings are faced in Capitalist society.

Better Human Beings

For the fact is that the working class cannot opt out of the ill effects of Capitalism without deciding to get rid of it. Reformers in spite of good intentions and with the best will in the world and the support of electors, have made plain the futility of trying to obtain beneficial results from a system that is basically harmful. Success for a few at the expense of failure for most is all that this profit-motivated system can offer. In the long run the solution for the individual is the solution for mankind as a whole: to organise the world in accord with the needs of humanity.

What are these needs? To live in harmony and peace in a world where the interest of the individual is aligned to that of society as a whole. Socialists realise that only with a foundation of common ownership can society create the conditions for the betterment of human beings.

Anyone can sympathise with those like the character in the film who want to get away from the squalor of their childhood days. But if they do, let them remember that the system which causes their and other people's problems will still be there. The economic structure that leads to slumps and wars and sets man against man in the

order to stimulate interest and enable members to advertise the meeting date and ensure that as many members and sympathisers (and others) were aware of the meeting and, we hope, prepared to support it.

The Socialist Party. From time to time our Publicity organiser and the Editorial Committee have endeavoured to obtain recognition in the Press that the Socialist Party of Great Britain is THE Socialist Party. Despite this, the Beaverbrook Press in its *Evening Standard Style Book* for "guidance of Editorial, Reading and Composing Departments" quotes:—

"The Labour Party will be described as Socialist, but where occasion makes the use of the word Labour necessary, the abbreviation will be Lab."

The above information is sent to us from an American Comrade.

P. H.

struggle, not only to get to the top, but to avoid being shoved to the bottom, is unaltered. The competition for more things, higher status, greater power, will remain with its ill effects.

A positive alternative

Dreams of success today have their counterparts in the nightmares of failure. The evidence of mental ill-health indicates the high number of people unable to cope with modern modern life. The inability or reluctance to face the facts of life in a class-divided, money-collecting

system indicates the failure of the social organisation. Let us see it for what it is and consider the positive alternative that Socialism offers.

It is obvious that room at the top is strictly limited. For the majority of people the lower portion of the social pyramid is where they must remain until society is changed. The important thing for workers is to recognise the need for such a change. To work for that end is the most worthwhile task of our time.

S. D.

OBITUARY

We regret to inform members of the death of C. Thurlow, of West Ham Branch. Comrade Thurlow had been a member of the Party for many years. Originally he was in the I.L.P., but soon found his way to the Socialist Party and became an active member. In the nineteen thirties he was on the Executive Committee and also served for some time on the Parliamentary Committee. About six years ago he was disabled by a severe illness, which ended his working life and obliged him to remain inactive. In spite of his poor health he continued to attend Branch meetings and take as much interest as he could in the affairs of the Party. Much of his time during this enforced retirement went into his other great interest,

his stamp collection, which was a remarkably fine one and had been arranged in unorthodox fashion to provide a source of historical, geographical and other knowledge. Latterly, however, his health deteriorated and he died shortly before the end of last year.

Our late Comrade's own words fittingly describe his years of staunch fighting to spread the Party's case: "I died as I lived, hostile to Capitalism and religious superstition."

Our sympathies are extended to his wife, Comrade Violet Thurlow, and his daughter.

E. W.

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

PROFESSOR GALBRAITH, the author of *The Affluent Society*, is an urbane and incisive commentator of contemporary Capitalism, especially its American version. As an iconoclast he is in the Veblen tradition. We shall, however, leave for a subsequent article, his views in general and only concern ourselves, here, with his comments on Marx in particular.

Marx (long dead) still wears a contemporary larger-than-life look—Professor Galbraith warily measures him up before seeking to cut him down to size. Marx, he notes, was a powerful and subtle thinker, a great deviationist from the stock ideas and sentiments of his age—called by the author "the conventional wisdom." His influence, he thinks, both direct and indirect, has been enormous.

Marxism dead but won't lie down

But, says the author, it is not only Marx who is dead, the main body of his doctrine has also atrophied, having presumably no further useful function to perform. It would appear from Professor Galbraith's interpretation that Marxists have long resorted to artificial respiration in the belief that the body still breathes. Marxism, the author holds, has exhausted its impetus and originality and hardened into a dogma. It is now an article of faith which has acquired a religious quality. That is why for Marxists their opponents are not only in error but in sin. That is why, says Professor Galbraith, you cannot discuss Marxism with Marxists, at least not rationally. Marxists, he says, will always assure their opponents that whatever their criticism of Marx they have failed to understand him. One can at least reply to Professor Galbraith by saying that the history of anti-Marxist argument goes some way to confirm the accusation. For our part we, as Marxists, are eccentric enough to welcome any rational discussion on Marxism with anybody and everybody.

Who are the Marxists?

Professor Galbraith's description of Marxists as those who assume the role of hard-headed realists, facing the unlovely prospect of ever-greater emmiseration (poverty) of the workers, ever-greater slumps, leading to final economic collapse and bloody revolution is certainly concise, clear cut—and wrong. To fasten on Marx such catastrophic views shows how catastrophically Professor Galbraith himself has misunderstood Marx, and regretfully he must be included among the legions who simply cannot discriminate between the "Marxism" of Moscow and the Marxism of Marx.

That the Bolsheviks and latter-day Communists never made Marxism the basis of their activities and yet made it their official creed, is sheer historical irony. Yet the paradox loses its enigmatical character if we know what precisely the role that theory had for them. Theory was not something acceptable, because it provides a systematic and logical picture of social events, theory for them was an ideological instrument, pressed into the services of political strategy and struggles. In this sense and only in this sense are we to understand the cardinal Communist dictum: "Theory must be a guide to practice."

There were, however, good Bolshevik reasons for claiming Marxist paternity for their views. Unable or unwilling to father a theory of their own, they took over an established and ready-made doctrine which not only gave a semblance of authority to their views, but an ideological basis to which shifts and changes in policy could be ultimately referred and, of course, justified.

And so the dialectic which made all things possible, turned Marxism into its opposite. From a method of free scientific enquiry it was transformed into an authoritative dogma unsurpassed even by the Holy Catholic Church. Its high priests dispensed official Marxist decrees with encyclical infallibility. It was the greatest "negation of the negation" of all time. In Communist hands Historical

Materialism became Dialectical Materialism, and Marxist economic doctrines were taken apart and reassembled for the construction of the "Communist model."

As formulated by Marx, "the law of the tendency of the falling rate of profit," which he said was a tendency annulled by counter tendencies was converted by the Communists from a tendency to an iron law which had the terrifying and remorseless character of the law of gravitation. Given this iron law of the falling rate of profit, there would go a continuous and progressive decline in the fields of capital investment. This decline in turn would produce slumps of an ever more massive order, more massive unemployment and a greater mass of poverty for the workers. Out of this economic chaos the Proletarian Dictatorship would emerge and give rise to Communist "law and order."

This was Communist theory, but never Marxist fact. **Marxism and the Intellectuals**

Communist theory was then nicely attuned to Communist propaganda whose source of inspiration and direction was Russia. Communist Parties all over the world attempted to follow the Leninist pattern, viz., creation of a mass organization, conditional collaboration with Social Democratic parties, etc. It sought to undermine Western Capitalism by fermenting and organising mass discontent. It inspired its adherents with a belief in the inevitable break-down of Capitalism and inculcated the feeling of a tough realism which not only required that Communism must by all means expedite the decline of Capitalism, but be the organised force to take over power from the bourgeois or left parties.

This was the essence of the Communist ideology, an ideology which created many Communists among its victims. With its insistence on an intellectual elite it sought and at least to some extent succeeded in making an impact on some sections of the intelligentsia. For intellectuals in the twenties and thirties who were in despair, Communism gave them hope. For many in doubt it provided invincible certainty. To the tougher minded the Communists dared them to walk the plank of Communist realism. Many did, although they walked back after-

wards.

And so Moscow Marxism provided many of the angry young men of the thirties with an escape route via Russia. In their angry youth they violently proclaimed it. In their mild middle they violently repudiated it.

Enter Mr. Strachey

It is not surprising that when Professor Galbraith, who takes these once angry young men seriously, turns his eyes from East to West, he discovers that angry young man of old, Mr. Strachey, as the most articulate Marxist of the thirties. Mr. Strachey certainly had a flair for writing a lot about which he knew little. No doubt the Communist intelligentsia had groomed him for "Marxist" stardom. Like many other stars groomed by Communists, Mr. Strachey severed his contacts and transferred his talents to rival producers. His "Theory of Capitalist Crises" merely repeats the Communist economic errors on an expanded scale.

No doubt Moscow Marxism and people like Mr. Strachey provide a barn door of such dimensions that nobody would miss even at a distance. That is why perhaps so many pundits are indulging this pedestrian pastime. One hoped that Professor Galbraith was made of sterner stuff. It is so easy to set up skittles like a Marxist theory of absolute poverty. Of workers living for the most part on the margin of destitution. A Marxist stark under-consumption theory of ever increasing wealth and ever increasing poverty. Of a Marxist "law of the falling rate of profit" where the system comes to a sudden end like an engine with not enough steam pressure behind the piston. It is easy to scatter that lot and walk jauntily into the next chapter.

But we are ready to yell after him, hi, professor, in the hope he hears us, Marx never formulated such propositions. In actual fact not only did he say different things to what Professor Galbraith thinks he said, but even in some respects the opposite.

In the next article we shall discuss rationally and in detail not the errors of Marx but the errors of Professor Galbraith in respect of Marx.

E. W.

(To be continued.)

SIDELIGHT ON ENGELS

MARX'S lifelong friend rarely refers to his own distinct activity and personality in his writings. For information concerning Engels' personality we must have recourse to those who were acquainted with him. But there is an exception! On one occasion and this at the early age of 25, Engels tells us in English something about himself. Yet even this English writing has never been presented to the English reader. It must have been Engels himself who insisted on its exclusion (although written as a preface in English) from the translation of his work *Condition of the Working Class in England* in 1844 authorised by himself. The *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* in 1844 published in Germany in 1845, from which the Winchnevitsky was made contains this preface (in English) in full, and in the 1892 final edition of this work, authorised by Engels, the preface (in English) is re-included.

A certain explanation is necessary to the reader concerning Engels' expression "middle class" or "middle classes". By this Engels does not mean highly paid workers or shopkeepers etc. but the *actual capitalist class* itself. There existed in England in 1844 three distinct groups of the community—the proletariat, the landed

aristocracy and the bourgeoisie or industrial capitalists. Until 1832 the landed aristocracy had held control of political power and had fleeced the bourgeoisie for its own benefit. Engels then refers to the bourgeoisie as the "middle class" i.e. the class between the proletariat and the landed aristocracy. It should be noted, however, that not three years later Engels abandoned this categorization of his—the landed aristocracy—a social class. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels write,

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie possesses however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Marx, too, in one of his other writings refers to the landlord as a sleeping partner to the capitalist.

At the present day landlords, so-called industrial capitalists, merchants and bankers are economically directly interwoven and intermingled—a collective holding group for the most part one social class.

S.G.

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF GREAT BRITAIN

Working men!

To you I dedicate a work in which I have tried to lay before my German Countrymen a faithful picture of your condition, of your sufferings and struggles, of your hopes and prospects. I have lived long enough amidst you to know something about your circumstances; I have devoted to their knowledge my most serious attention. I have studied the various official and non-official documents as far as I was able to get hold of them—I have not been satisfied with this, I wanted more than a mere abstract knowledge of my subject, I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors. I have done so: I forsook the company and the dinner parties, the port wine and champagne of the middle-classes and devoted my leisure hours almost exclusively to the intercourse with plain working men; I am both glad and proud of having done so. Glad, because thus I was induced to spend many a happy hour in obtaining a knowledge of the realities of life—many an hour, which else would have been wasted in fashionable talk and tiresome etiquette; proud, because I thus got an opportunity of doing justice to an oppressed and calumniated class of men, who with all their faults and under all the disadvantages of their situation, yet command the respect of everyone but an English moneymonger; proud, too, because thus I was placed in a position to save the English people from the growing contempt which on

the Continent has been the necessary consequence of the brutally selfish policy and general behaviour of your ruling middle-class.

Having, at the same time, ample opportunity to watch the middle-classes, your opponents, I soon came to the conclusion that you are right, perfectly right, in expecting no support whatever from them. Their interest is diametrically opposed to yours, though they will always try to maintain the contrary and to make you believe in their most hearty sympathy with your fate. Their doings give them the lie. I hope to have collected more than sufficient evidence of the fact, that—be their words what they please—the middle-classes intend in reality nothing else but to enrich themselves by your labour while they can sell its produce, and to abandon you to starvation as soon as they cannot make a profit by this indirect trade in human flesh. What have they done to prove their professed good will towards you? Have they ever paid any serious attention to your grievances? Have they done more than pay the expenses of half a dozen commissions of inquiry, whose voluminous pages are damned to everlasting slumber among heaps of waste paper on the shelves of the Home-Office? Have they even done as much as to compile from those rotting blue-books a single readable book from which everybody might easily get some information on the condition of the great majority of "free born Britons"? Not they, indeed these are things they don't like to speak of—they have left it to a foreigner to inform the civilised world

continued on page 46

THE FUTURE LABOUR OFFERS YOU

THIS new Labour Party pamphlet and programme for the next election has been admirably reviewed by "E.W." in the January issue of the *Socialist Standard*, but in case his criticism does not please members of the Labour Party—for he does not quote from it—let us examine a few of its statements.

Gaitskell on the first page writes that "*The plans are carefully thought out*" so there is no excuse for any random ideas. He claims that "*they are democratic socialism in action*" and from this we can learn what the Labour Party thinks of Socialism.

In the section **YOUR HOME** the Labour Party is to encourage you to purchase your house, and says that it will "*also grant loans on favourable terms so as to encourage tenants to buy the houses they now live in, and to improve them.*" This is private enterprise, which the Labour Party has opposed, and therefore the opposite to its desire to nationalise everything. In a previous election the Conservative Party spread the propaganda that the Labour Party would nationalise your home if they were put in power. What does it matter whether you own your house or not so long as if you can live comfortably in it?

In the section on **HEALTH** we read "*We must have a new approach to mental illness.*" They mention that nearly half the beds in hospitals are occupied by cases of mental disorders, but never a word about the cause of these disorders or what they intend on doing about these causes. If the pace of industrial production and

precariousness of living is largely responsible for this state of affairs the Labour Party by its insistence on increased production is going to make matters worse.

In the section on **EXPANSION** they really give the game away in a paragraph in small print which reads "*All our projects for better schools and hospitals, for a new deal for the young and the old, for rising living standards, must depend in the end on our success in achieving year by year a rapid expansion of production.*" This is the key to the whole thing—we have got to increase production—in other words we have got to work harder. Then they state "*£70 million worth of unsold coal piled up at pitheads, in quarries and in dumps all over the country*" so it looks by this that somebody has been working too hard and produced too much. Have the miners got to work harder and so permit further increases in this piled up coal? Incidentally the coal mines are one of the great nationalised industries, nationalised of course by the Labour Government, so who are we to blame for the muddle? The programme continues "*No wonder Britain is falling behind her competitors—Germany, Japan, and Russia—in the world race for higher production.*" Put Labour in power and they will soon see to it that our production is stepped up and our competitors beaten, this is the only interpretation of this remark. "*To survive in the world's markets we must increase productivity per man.*" Crude and truthful (under capitalism) and a direct threat that Labour will try to fulfil if returned.

In the section **COST OF LIVING**, "*Labour will start with this advantage, the unions know they will not have to struggle against a Labour Government to get a fair deal for their members.*" Do they really think that the public's memory is so short that they don't remember the numerous strikes under the late Labour Government? Do they seriously think that the class struggle is going to cease just because they are in power? Have they forgotten the great dockers' strike and the way the Labour Government broke it by employing troops to unload the ships? The Labour Party may have started as a party of the trade unions, but now that the leaders of the Labour Party have climbed into parliament they are going to run capitalism in the interests of the ruling class.

PEACE. "*Labour will propose a fresh disarmament conference to draw up a treaty which will reduce arms, manpower and military expenditure, destroy all stocks of nuclear weapons and means of delivering them, including missile bases and bombers, abolish all chemical and biological weapons and provide safeguards against surprise attacks.*" In other words they want to dump overboard these serious weapons which are so much discussed today. But the trouble here arises in the next section on **DEFENCE**. "*Labour fully accepts the duty to maintain the military defences of Britain . . . and will take a lead in pressing for all round disarmament.*"

"Labour has argued for years that, in this nuclear age, the big conscript armies resulting from National Service are wasteful and ineffective." This puts the lid on the whole programme. Who was it that imposed conscription in peace time? the Labour Party! It was they who built up these big conscript armies. Now they tell us that as a result of nuclear development they are wasteful and ineffective. But as they are pledged under the **PEACE** section to press for the abolition of these nuclear methods, they are also going to get rid of their large armies and yet they state above "*Labour fully accepts the duty to maintain the military defence of Britain.*"

In the last section "*We in the Labour Party are Socialists. This means that our whole approach to politics is different from that of the Tories. What is the difference? . . . the Tories still believe that . . . the economic future of fifty million people packed on a small island can and should be shaped decisively by a free-for-all scramble with private profits as the prize.*" "*Socialists believe that this Tory outlook is dangerously old-fashioned and also profoundly immoral. The first Socialist ideal is mutual service—the story of the Good Samaritan in terms of everyday political life*" so we come to Jesus in the end, and live happy ever after in this dream world of the Labour Party. We will now rise and sing "Onward Christian soldiers".

H. JARVIS.

THEATRE

THE LONG AND THE SHORT AND THE TALL

AS might be guessed, "*The Long and the Short and the Tall*" is a play about men at war, written by Willis Hall and presented by the Royal Court Theatre. It is not a great play; it is not great drama or even great entertainment but as the characters come to life as the action of the play unfolds itself, it highlights some interesting and important points.

A British Army patrol takes a Japanese prisoner in an area forward of the main fighting line in the Malayan jungle. At the end of the play, the patrol itself is encircled and trapped by the Japanese troops.

The play reminds us of the vicious anti-Jap propaganda of the war years when soldiers were taught to expect in their enemies a kind of sub-human order of life. Japs were alleged to be little yellow people with slanted eyes that denoted the worst kind of calculated slyness. Their protruding teeth eventually became animal-like fangs, and they were all obsessed with the plan to exert a malignant perverse cruelty on humanity at large. The Japs, it was said, just because a hatred of democracy was inherent in their national character, had decided to enslave and torture the peoples of the earth. Unless they were thwarted, a future was postulated where the entire earth would be in the grip of "things" beside whom Dracula and Frankenstein would pale into friendly, amenable good chaps. Thereby war and retaliation became not only justified but crucial to the survival of Western society and its democratic institutions. This was a bitter lie.

The soldiers had been sent to Burma and had begun fighting in an atmosphere of deliberately contrived hate. How strange then, how completely taken by surprise were they when the first prisoner they took appeared to be

"almost human." He was actually frightened; he seemed to expect his death because no doubt he had heard and believed the Japanese propaganda about "British monsters."

But the prisoner was not immediately killed and the few hours that followed allowed a pathetic fragment of a personal relationship to develop between him and his captors, and as it developed, the greater became the lie of war propaganda as compared with their personal experience. "He's human," his captors reiterate, as the Japanese soldier smokes a cigarette and produces photographs of his wife and children. "He's a family man, he's one of us."

The contradictions pile up. The biggest collection of loot is held by the blue-eyed boy from the Church Army who doesn't like to swear and curse. "We're fighting for the democratic British way of life," says one cynical squaddie, "but there's no democracy in the Army."

For a moment they lapse into confused disillusion.

"It's bloody murder."

"Of course it is—that's my job."

"I just take orders."

"We're all mugs."

"We don't know why we're here or what it's all made of."

"You think too much."

The tragedy was that they didn't think enough.

The complete ignorance and lack of any coherent idea about the cause of war adds further tragedy to their desperate position. On stage the characters mill about, violently involved in a situation they don't understand.

The play makes ridiculous the bogeys placed in people's minds by the mass propaganda agencies about the enemy during war and times of preparation for war, and though it's 1959 when this play is presented and not 1939 when it had a more critical social relevance, one can welcome the way its central theme cuts through the

nationalist fervour that usually surrounds war and spot-lights war as a human tragedy.

Though the play is an expression of indignation that war should ever happen, its contribution to the understanding of war as a social problem is deficient and superficial.

For a real analysis, we must move beyond the narrow language of this play and begin to use the higher abstractions of political discussion.

The views about war expressed in the play are crude and shallow and yet in real life are often repeated in seriousness.

"Bints!" "Men will always fight," etc.

So we must ever fear that whilst such ignorance prevails violence and military strength will remain the arbiter in the settlement of international disputes and the world's workers will yet make fodder for the atomic cannon.

P. L.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

WHO WANTS A MAN?

A leading New York daily paper has just advertised a man, warranted sound in wind and limb, for sale. He describes himself as 43 years old. He says he understands machinery and is a good mechanic, but has been out of work for nine months, and is willing to sell himself for food, clothing and lodging. If no purchaser is forthcoming he will be knocked down by auction to the highest bidder. . . . Before the American panic the man had been earning £5 weekly in a machinery shop, but since then, despite applications at over 200 machine shops, which advertised for men, he has failed to secure a job. (From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, March, 1909.)

TO THE WORKING CLASS OF GREAT BRITAIN

—continued from page 44

of the degrading situation you have to live in. A foreigner to them, not to you I hope. Though my English may not be pure, yet, I hope you will find it plain English. No working man in England—nor in France either—ever treated me as a foreigner. With the greatest pleasure I observed you to be free from that blasting curse, national prejudice and national pride, which after all means nothing but wholesale selfishness—I observed you to sympathise with every one who earnestly applies his powers to human progress—may he be an Englishman or not—I found you to be more than mere Englishmen, members of a single, isolated nation, I found you to be Men, members of the great and universal family of Mankind, who know their interest and that of all the human race to be the same. And as such, as members of this family of "One and Indivisible" Mankind, as Human-Beings in the most emphatical meaning of the word, as such, I and many others on the Continent, hail your progress in every direction and wish you speedy success. Go on then, as you have done hitherto. Much remains to be undergone: be firm, be undaunted—your success is certain, and no step you will have to take in your onward march, will be lost to that common cause, the cause of Humanity!

Barmen (Rhenish Prussia) March 15th, 1845.
Friedrich Engels.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1959

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1 CONFERENCE RALLY

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Films from America.

Tape Recording, New Zealand, Canada, etc.

"MARX AND DARWIN"

Speakers: E. CRITCHFIELD, H. YOUNG.

Admission Free.

Questions and Discussion.

ISLINGTON MEETING

ISLINGTON CO-OP. HALL

129, SEVEN SISTERS ROAD,

THURSDAY, MARCH 5th

8 p.m.

"NUCLEAR TESTS AND PROTESTS"

Speakers: C. MAY, H. YOUNG.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

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SOCIAL AND DANCE

SATURDAY, MARCH 28th, 7.30 p.m.

Harry Vardam and his Orchestra.

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On MONDAY, APRIL 13th, at 8.15 p.m.

A Discussion opened by R. GUY on

"ATTITUDES OF PROPAGANDA"

Of particular interest to Party members.

It is hoped to continue the discussion on 27th April.

WEST HAM BRANCH

THURSDAY, 5th MARCH, 8 p.m.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICTS

P. LAWRENCE

THURSDAY, 19th MARCH, 8 p.m.

"CYPRUS"

J. D'ARCY

SALISBURY ROAD SCHOOLS, MANOR PARK, E.12

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

PUBLIC MEETING AT CO-OP. HALL,

197, MARE STREET, E.8

MONDAY, 13th APRIL, at 8 p.m.

"THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE LABOUR PARTY"

Speakers:

J. READ (Prospective Parliamentary Candidate),

R. AMBRIDGE.

Admission Free.

Questions and Discussion.

Buses: 6, 106, 170, 555, 557, 653, 677.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1959

PUBLICATION DATE OF "SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

MITCHAM DISCUSSION GROUP

at

THE WHITE HART, MITCHAM CRICKET GREEN

Tuesday, March 17th, at 8 p.m.

Speaker—COM. MICHAEL

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park	3.30—7 p.m.
East Street	
(Walworth)	March	1st 12.30 p.m.	
	"	8th 11 a.m.	
	"	15th 11 a.m.	
	"	22nd 12.30 p.m.	
	"	29th 12.30 p.m.	

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill ... Thursdays at 1 p.m.

GLASGOW

(City and Kelvingrove Branches)

PUBLIC MEETING

SUNDAY, 22nd MARCH, at 7.30 p.m.

"RUSSIA TO-DAY"

Speakers: J. RICHMOND and H. STEWART.

ST. ANDREW'S HALLS, BERKELEY STREET

(Door G, Room 2)

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT • The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership, and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Bethnal Green Election Campaign

Meeting Places of Canvassers in March

Sunday, March 8th, 11 a.m.

REGAL CINEMA, WELL STREET

Friday, March 13th, 7.30 p.m.

REGAL CINEMA, WELL STREET

Sunday, March 15th, 11 a.m.

HACKNEY TOWN HALL, MARE STREET

Friday, March 20th, 7.30 p.m.

YORK HALL, BETHNAL GREEN

Sunday, March 22nd, 11 a.m.

YORK HALL, BETHNAL GREEN

Thursday, March 26th, 7.30 p.m.

CAMBRIDGE HEATH STATION, E.2

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

BRISTOL.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRISTOL 24680.

CHELTHAM.—Secretary: Ken Smith, 338, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.

DUNDEE GROUP.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benvie Road, Dundee.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Sec.: J. M. Breakey, 2, Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Meets monthly on Tuesdays (March 17th) at "White Hart," Mitcham cricket green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.

REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.

SWANSEA.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencuolgi, Nr. Llanelly.

DOCUMENTARY FILMS at HEAD OFFICE

Documentary Films followed by brief Socialist comments at H.Q.

52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4.

(near Clapham North Tube Station)

Sunday evenings at 7.30 p.m.

The meeting is then open for questions and discussion which can be continued in the Social Room afterwards when light refreshments will be on sale. Visitors particularly welcome.

Mar. 1st "Shadow Over the World"—MICHAEL

" 8th "The Vision of William Blake"—E. Kersley.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA BRANCH

A series of LECTURES on Thursday Evenings, at 8 p.m. at

668, FULHAM ROAD, S.W.6
(Wilcox, Nr. Munster Road)

March 12th "South African Conflict"—P. LAWRENCE.

March 26th "Rent Control"—J. TROTMAN.

April 9th "The Mormons"—VIC PHILLIPS.

April 23rd To be announced.

May 14th To be announced.

May 28th "William Morris debunked"—F. OFFORD.

Questions and Discussion.

All Welcome.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE, 1959

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

MARCH 27th, 28th, 29th (Fri., Sat., Sun.)

11 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. (Sat. start at 2.30)

Admission Free.

Visitors welcome.

WOOLWICH BRANCH

FRIDAY, 13th MARCH, 7 p.m.

THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION

P. LAWRENCE

TOWN SOCIAL CLUB, MASON'S HILL, S.E.18

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD March, 1959

BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

BASILDON (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.

BLOOMSBURY. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (March 5th and 19th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.

CAMBERWELL meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 334, South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles. Secretary, F. Lea.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6 (Wilcox, nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary, L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City) Communications to Sec. J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, Glasgow, W.5. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (Mar. 4th and 18th) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays Mar. 16th and 30th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Communications to H. Stewart, 617, Maryhill Road, Glasgow N.W.

HACKNEY meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3, (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: S. Dan, 19, Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (Mar. 4th and 18th). 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).

ISLINGTON. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.

LEWISHAM meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m., at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham. Enquiries to Secretary, 83, Portland Road, Waverley Street, Nottingham.

PADDINGTON meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, (Off Edgware Road, adjacent to Marblebone Road), W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

TOTTENHAM Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.

WEST HAM meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to A. J. Crisp, 35, Clinton Road, Wst. Ham, E.7.

WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY. Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.

WOOLWICH meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsay, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

SOCIALIST STANDARD SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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More Trouble in Africa

No. 656 Vol. 55 April, 1959

OPTIMISM FOR WHOM?

MARX AND UNDER-CONSUMPTION

THE GENERAL ELECTION

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

SMALL SHOPKEEPERS

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Monthly

6^D

WHEN THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA and Nyasaland was set up in 1953, it was known to be against the wishes of most of the African population in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. They did not want to be taken out of the control of the British Colonial Office to be handed over to domination by the white settlers, whose attitude, as shown particularly in Southern Rhodesia, is much like that of the South African Government. Opponents of Federation, including the British Labour Party, foresaw that tension would increase and were not surprised by the recent disturbances in which a number of Africans were killed by Government forces. Among the Africans the idea of early independence for Nyasaland has been given a powerful stimulus, associated by some of them with more ambitious ideas of a wider nationalism, taking in all Africa.

Are they right? Will "independence" make them better off and happier? Their African leaders tell them there is no doubt about the matter. And it is quite obvious that most Africans would prefer to put up with a lot of inconvenience, even hardship, to escape living under a government which operates or tolerates a colour bar against them. Africans are only behaving like other people, for history is full of examples of resentment of, and revolt against, the imposition on subject groups, of racial, national, religious and language barriers. And because it has happened so often we have plenty of information about its consequences: nobody need plead ignorance. What then has national independence done for the mass of the population, whether we take the European nationalist movements of last century, such as the Italian struggle against Austria or the Balkan countries' struggles against Turkey, or the quite recent new States set up in former Colonies? Without going into detail we can say that national independence is good for local politicians, lawyers, army officers, manufacturers and business men; it opens up careers and money-making opportunities for them, as also for local holders of government civilian posts who may have found their advancement hindered while a foreign administration had control. Sometimes the achievement of national independence helps to speed up industrial development where this has been deliberately limited by the governing Power and may make it rather easier for workers to form trade unions.

What has the winning of independence done for the progress of humanity? The accumulation of experience has served to fill many of those who once hoped much from it, with disappointment and doubt. Mr. Hannen Swaffer, who spent many years supporting Labour Party demands for "freedom" for the colonies, writes:—

"... at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, under my window. British people were gathering to offer thanks on the anniversary of Ghana's obtaining freedom from British rule. Yet, in Ghana, its native rulers were oppressing the Opposition leaders—and its dictatorial Premier had boasted that he would work for a United Black Africa. Is full freedom for immature peoples really the remedy for economic injustice?" —(People, 8th March, 1959.)

Mr. Swaffer might have added that on the political side we have recently seen military dictatorship set up in the Sudan and Pakistan, two areas formerly British-administered, and that from the standpoint of what he calls "economic injustice," independence has not brought anything worthwhile to the ex-colonial workers. The early beliefs of Swaffer and the Labour Party, that national independence for the colonies would solve the economic problems of the workers, were well meant, but quite unfounded. They did not understand what is the nature of nationalism and national independence. Nationalism is not just the friendly association of people who speak the same language, share the same culture and live in the same place. In the world in which we live, where military force dominates, national independence means setting up a "sovereign state"; a government which, with the use of armed force can impose its property laws on its nationals individually and on its workers as a class, while at the same time using its forces to strengthen its position against other nations. The creation of a new capitalist group able to hold its own in a competitive capitalist world is the real aim of those who profit by nationalist movements; the encouragement of national and linguistic sentiments is merely the means to an end.

This is little appreciated by those who think that what mankind needs is a set of "good" ideas and ideals, and that national independence is one of these. Holding such a conception they are shocked and puzzled when they see liberated countries falling to dictatorship, and see some Africans now preaching anti-white racialism.

So although the liberal-minded *Capricorn African Society*, looking at what has already happened, can say that "Nationalism is not enough," their founder, Mr. David Stirlig still believes that "African nationalism is of itself a spendid and dynamic force to be encouraged" (*Manchester Guardian*, March 5th, 1959). And Father Trevor Huddleston, who worked so hard for Africans against the policies of the South African government, still holds to his belief that nationalism "on the part of the great peoples of Africa" is "not only natural, but entirely right." (He does not notice that the nationalism of all groups, including the white South Africans, appears to them to be equally "natural" and "right.") He backs his belief with the distorting half-truth that "over much of Africa wealth was white and poverty was black." (*Manchester Guardian*, March 9th, 1959.) This is the kind of misleading political slogan on which all nationalisms thrive; misleading because when independence has been achieved the African masses will still be poor, though the number of rich Africans, rich through the exploitation of the poor, will be somewhat larger. The subject economic position of the African workers will not have been removed.

It is here that we see the gulf between Socialists and the well-meaning reformers like Father Huddleston and the *Capricorn Society*. For us it is a question of changing the basis of the social system as the only way to change the condition of the exploited masses, the only way to abolish riches and poverty. For the idealists it is a

matter of "changing men's hearts," as if that could prevail against the class structure of the capitalist social system. True to his misguided notions Father Huddleston calls upon white settlers and the British government and people to choose "the path of faith" and reject "the path of fear."

But these idealists are not the only people who have views on Africa. A Tory peer, Lord Brand, has recently revisited South Africa, and in an article in *The Times* (March 9th, 1959), foretells the inevitable failure of *Apartheid*. But he is not relying on good intentions, or sentiment or faith, but on something more substantial. He finds that it is an economic impossibility for the mining, industrial and commercial companies, farmers, employers of domestic service, etc., to survive if cut off from their African labour force. Though the supporters of the South African government will not face up to realities, the fact is that "white and black must live together for endless centuries. They must either in the end learn to live harmoniously and at peace, or they must physically destroy each other." Lord Brand sees that far, but no farther.

As Socialists we can say that his approach shows more understanding of the problem than does that of any of the good intentioned idealists already referred to. Lord Brand, though he never names it, is a supporter of capitalism: he believes it to be the only possible social system. He sees that capitalism has its own needs and economic laws and that, however obstinate the *Apartheid* supporters may be, they cannot put the clock back and make capitalism fit their out-of-date beliefs. But if the Afrikaners in South Africa cannot twist capitalism back to suit their prejudices, neither can Huddleston and the other would-be reformers make capitalism into the rational and benevolent social system of their dreams. "Liberated" Black Africa will be Black Capitalist Africa and the African workers will still be exploited, as are the white workers elsewhere. The only way out of this impasse is that the Black workers and all other workers join together for the Socialist objective of overthrowing capitalism and establishing Socialism, in Africa and all other lands. But this will involve the abolition of national frontiers and the disappearance of racial prejudices. The world will then be a place for all its inhabitants to live in and travel in, freely and without hindrance or prejudice. The Blacks will be emancipated because all workers will be emancipated from capitalism.

H.

"It is sometimes thought that dislike of one human type for another is inevitable. This is certainly untrue, since children of different types brought up together show no special antagonisms. There is no doubt that race hatred exists only where it has been taught. The ease with which it can be taught is perhaps one of the most remarkable things about it... one important factor is the common desire for a scapegoat. If all types of workers combined in trade unions... the inferior position of the non-Europeans would no doubt rapidly improve, to the disadvantage of their employers. Thus in South Africa as in many other countries it is to the advantage of the ruling and employing group to maintain "racial" divisions, and to support them with lies about human biology."

From Anthony Barnett's (member of W.H.O.),
The Human Species.

MARX AND UNDER-CONSUMPTION

A Reply to Professor Galbraith

It often happens that when people look for a criticism of Marx, not being sure where to look, they look in the wrong places. Professor Galbraith, for instance, looked to Moscow, to Mr. Strachey and even to Mrs. Joan Robinson.

Poverty, Crises and Catastrophe

He gathered from some of these sources that Marx had formulated an absolute law of poverty and that the system's chief defect was acute and chronic under-consumption. Along with the ever greater ability to turn out wealth the workers' living standards would decline, capitalism would choke under the weight of its unsold commodities and collapse. As if "all this—and purgatory, too," was not enough, Professor Galbraith adds another alleged Marxian theory of crises, of a continuous fall in the rate of profit and hence capital investment, with slumps of ever greater magnitude and final breakdown. Which one Marx was really supposed to hold we are not informed. Our view is that he held neither. However, let our motto be one crisis one article, and it is the under-consumptionist variety which will be its subject.

Marx not an under-consumptionist

In view of all that has been said of Marx as an "under-consumptionist" theorist, the only statement which has any bearing on the matter is in Vol. 3 of *Capital*, where he says, "The last cause of all real crises, always remains the poverty and unrestricted consumption of the masses as compared with the impulse of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute powers of consumption of society were their limit." This statement is merely an interpolation by Marx when he is discussing at length the view that shortage of capital is a cause of crises.

This statement seems out of context with the passage, but even so, it is obvious that Marx was drawing attention to the contradiction between the tendency of capital to expand in an absolute way the powers of production, and the limits imposed upon it by the antagonistic income distribution inherent in capitalist society. This has nothing

to do with under-consumption theories as understood, but implies the conflict between productive powers and productive relations.

To put it simply, capital accumulation logically leads to a demand for labour power and hence to a rise in real wages. It is true that wages are part of the consumption fund of capitalist society and an increase in real wages means increased consumption for workers. But wages are also the purchase price of labour-power and if as a consequence of increased capital investment, wages rise, this means for capitalists an increase in costs and a lowering of the rate of profit. Should wage earnings reach a level which threatens the customary rate of profit yield, then capital investment may sharply recoil.

It is the essence of this society that wage advances can never wholly absorb capitalist profits. The ceiling of wages and hence consumption cannot extend beyond the point where additional wage advances annul profit returns on capital outlay. Even an approximation to such a state of affairs will suffice to induce a downward trend in capital accumulation. The impulse then of capitalist production to expand the forces of production in such a way that only the entire satisfaction of social needs is its ultimate limit is inhibited and finally checked by the antagonistic class income distribution of capitalist society—wages and profits. The forces of production come into conflict with the social relations of production.

The fact that extant society is not one of conscious motivation, directed towards social ends, but of profit motivation, places grave restrictions on its productive powers and hence consuming powers. As Marx points out:—

"... It is not a fact that too much wealth is produced. But it is true that there is a periodical over-production of wealth in its capitalistic and self-contradictory form... The capitalist mode of production for this reason meets with barriers at a certain scale of production which would be inadequate under different conditions. It comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realisation of profit, not by the satisfaction of social needs." Vol 3 (p. 303). This is why Marx indicted capitalism as a system of

MAY DAY SUNDAY 3rd MAY

2.30 - 6 p.m.

7 p.m.

Hyde Park
Rally

Socialism is
International

Speakers—D'ARCY, MAY, WILMOT, YOUNG

Speakers—GRANT, LAKE, MOSTYN

DENISON HOUSE

296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.1

organised scarcity. In this sense and only in this sense can there be a Marxist view of under-consumption.

Marx and Rodbertus

How little Marx had in common with the under-consumption theory of crises which Professor Galbraith thrusts upon him, along with so many others, can be seen by his criticism of the economist Rodbertus, who formulated in essentials the generally accepted under-consumption theory of crises. It holds that crises are the result of a deficit of purchasing power of the mass of people and would be remedied by raising wages. Marx himself emphatically repudiated such a view, thus:—

"It is purely a tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of solvent consumers or paying consumption. The capitalist mode of production does not know of any mode the thief. . . . But if one were to clothe this tautology with a of production but a paying one, except of the pauper and semblance of profounder justification by saying that the working class receive too small a portion of their own product and the evil could be remedied by giving them a larger share of it or by raising wages; we should reply that crises are always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally and the working class get a larger share of the annual product intended for consumption. From the advocates of simple common sense such a period should remove a crisis. It seems then that capitalist production comprises certain conditions which are independent of good or bad will and permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily and, at that, always as a harbinger of a coming crisis." Vol. 2 (pp. 475/6.)

There is also a footnote to this passage by Engels which says, "advocates of the theory of crises of Rodbertus are requested to make a note of this."

Is there a defective monetary mechanism?

The under-consumptionist theory of crises always depicts capitalist society as what it is not and cannot be; a system serving the needs of the community. For them crises are not the outcome of capitalist relations of production, but a defect in the monetary mechanism which can be regulated via banks and state action. This comprises the essentials of Keynes' theory.

Under-consumptionists hold that the cause of crises is due to deficit purchasing power, i.e., the inability to buy back the ever-increasing amount of commodities thrown on the market. But as we have already noted, before the boom breaks, the workers' purchasing power is at its height. It is not then lack of purchasing power which causes a cut back in investment by capitalists and unsold stocks to appear on the market, but because from the capitalist standpoint wages are too high and profit margins too low. It is this which can give rise to a crisis (a sharp break in price equilibrium) and if big enough brings about depression.

If this happens there will be a falling spiral of wages and profits and unsold stocks will pile up. This is not a cause, but an effect of certain conditions and has nothing to do with a defect in the monetary mechanism or some absolute deficit in purchasing power. What actually takes place is that a number of capitalists—members of the ruling social group—take decisions as to the future trend of capital investment and, of course, production. If they decide not to invest at the existing profit level or cut back, it is because from the capitalist standpoint the existing income distribution is an unsatisfactory one for them. Profit margins are too small and wage bills too big. As has been already stated it is not a question of workers having too little purchasing power (wages), but from the capitalist view too much. But supposing a crisis does break out. It does not follow there is an overall

lack of purchasing power. There is plenty of available purchasing power in banks, holdings, reserves, and the pockets of capitalists to buy up surplus stock for needy workers. But capitalists do not choose to spend their money that way.

There are good reasons why they should not redistribute purchasing power this way. As Marx pointed out, the capitalist, if not a miser by nature, is one by necessity. Being realists they know in any depression period they must husband their resources—even seek to increase them, conditions permitting, if they are to successfully ride the next wave boom.

Capitalism knows of only one form of consumption and that is paying consumption, and as we have seen the system operates in such a way as to impose in relation to the ability to produce wealth, a restrictive consumption on the working class. To say this is due to a lack of purchasing power is the merest tautology. Actually capitalist society generates the purchasing power necessary for the realisation in terms of money, of the wealth it produces. For instance, suppose a boom starts in the capital goods industry (it could, of course, start elsewhere), increased production of the means of production will by employing more and more labour-power, generate increased purchasing power among workers which will be transmitted to the industries producing consumption goods. These industries will expand and order further machines and auxiliaries for this purpose and so a continuous process will go on in the generating of purchasing power. Under the stimulus of demand, prices will rise and the purchase price of labour-power will rise also. In fact, generally speaking, labour-power during the later stages of the boom tends to rise faster than other commodities. Increased purchasing power is synchronised with increased production.

What causes a crisis?

Capitalism, however, is based on anarchy of production. Capitalists do not meet beforehand to harmonise production in accordance with social aims and ends. Capitalists for that reason, invest with little regard and knowledge of other capital investments being carried out at the same time. As a result different industries expand at a different rate and disproportionality of production, as Marx calls it, takes place. If then one industry—say the one producing capital goods—over-expands in relation to the industry producing consumption goods, it means they have over estimated demand and if on a big enough scale, the realisation price of their products will be unremunerative. This disproportional development relative to other industries will, however, have cumulative effects. Not only will the industry affected by over-expansion cut back investment, but as a consequence reduce orders to other concerns linked with them. In turn, these other concerns will do likewise and so on from trade to trade. As a result of cancellation of orders and contracts, unsold stocks will pile up. Relative over-production, which started in one industry, then assumes the proportion of general over-production—but, it must be stressed, not absolute over-production.

In such a situation production and employment will fall sharply and so, of course, will purchasing power. To say that if the workers' wages were higher, all this could have been avoided is to utterly misunderstand the nature of capitalism. In the first place the cut back in investment by the industry that had over expanded its demand was not a question of purchasing power, but profit margins

due to unremunerative prices. What is more, workers do not spend their money in the capital goods industry. Again, from the standpoint of the employers in the capital goods industry, wages are too high and a factor in helping to reduce profit margins.

It is not then a question of too much wealth being produced and too little purchasing power to buy it back which brings a crisis, but simply that an over-expansion in one sphere of industry has been big enough to start a downward spiral of investment and profits. Thus there comes into existence a volume of capital investment too great to be consistent with former profit earnings. As Marx points out, "Since production depends on investment [such a situation] constitutes an over production of capital which takes the form of an *over production of commodities*" (italics ours).

It might be argued that increased taxation of capitalists might be a means of disbursing extra purchasing power among workers in times of a crisis to prevent a slump. Increased taxation at such a time would, however, be most inappropriate and meet with strong resistance from capitalists. Not only would increased taxation deplete capital funds necessary for future expansion, but the purchasing power generated via taxation at one phase of the cycle, will as the result of restricted expansion, not be available at another phase of the cycle (the boom). But this in no way supports some under-consumptionist view of a total deficit of purchasing power being the cause of crises. It merely means a redistribution of purchasing power via a redistribution of income. Neither Keynes nor the Labour Party have made such proposals.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

FROM a window in Stockwell, and doubtless many other places, can be seen two huge propaganda posters. One is from the Labour Party, the other from the Conservatives, side by side. With the election fever hotting up, old lies and newer lies (but mostly the same old lies) are poured out frantically in the quest for working-class votes. The one really major issue in the election, whenever it comes, will be, whether in the light of all their past experiences, workers will still be kidded into voting for the continuation of Capitalism.

For although this system robs the workers of the fruits of their labour, condemns many of them to live in barracks or slums, periodically murders millions of them in wars, while in peace time they live in fear of dole queues and the problems of hire-purchase and overtime, the ruling-class politicians know that if this system is to stay, workers must vote for it.

Counting 1945, there have been four General Elections since the war. At each one of these the excuses have been varied, but the problems have been the same.

If the Labour Government from 1945-51 had solved anything for the working-class they might still be in power. Instead, having accepted responsibility for running Capitalism, although they said in 1945 they were the high-wage party, they froze wages and broke strikes. They also launched the present arms build up and prepared the Atom-bomb. They stood for Nationalisation, but now that this policy of State Capitalism has disillusioned many workers and is no longer a vote-catcher they are having second thoughts. The Socialist Party of Great Britain

If Marx had believed in a law of absolute poverty based on absolute under-consumption, why he took such pains to analyse the trade cycle if capitalism—Boom—crises—depression. Boom—crises—depression, must for ever remain a mystery. For on the premise of absolute under-consumption, it is not a question of how slumps come to start, but how under such conditions a boom can ever begin.

Some Labour economic theorists have claimed to have gone beyond Keynes by advocating a further period of extensive investment just prior to the boom breaking. (Planned Capitalism). It is, however, at the top of the boom that demand for labour-power is greatest and its purchase price highest. To maintain investment at a high level would deplete the existing labour reserves, cause increased competition among employers for labour-power, and so enhance its price. Along with increased labour costs would go the increase of the supply price of the various factors in production and repeat the process of mounting costs and the narrowing of profit margins to the point where the volume of capital investment would yield too small a profit margin at the existing level. Such theorists seem to forget that capitalism is and always must be a profit motivated society. A profitless capitalism is a contradiction in terms.

We have, of course, dealt with much of this in past issues. We believe, however, it might still be of some benefit to readers, even Professor Galbraith, if he should by any chance read it. E. W.

In the next issue we shall deal with the Communist view that crises are caused by the falling rate of profit.

infancy. It is alright to say, as people so often do, that we are "more free here than they are in Russia," etc., but the fact that our fellow workers in Russia have not yet obtained the very limited elbow-room workers have here only indicates that Capitalism is older and more experienced here than in Russia. It is no excuse for workers here to accept their shabby lot simply because elsewhere it may be worse.

So far as this election is concerned none of the reformist Parties—Labour, Conservative, or so-called Communist—has anything to offer worth a single working-class vote.

None of them challenge the existence of Capitalism. They all ask for votes on programmes based on continued Capitalism. Therefore since all the problems facing workers arise from Capitalism none of them has any answer. The S.P.G.B. alone challenges the present system. Our one object and sole programme, is its removal and replacement by a Socialist system.

That we are not very strong in numbers is the fault of workers who, despite repeated disappointments, continue supporting Capitalist Parties. We are, however, contesting the election in the Bethnal Green constituency. We wish very much that more workers were Socialists so that we could contest more seats.

Meanwhile to make the best of present circumstances we must have funds. We get no large donations from trade unions or big business, but we are confident that as workers begin to realize the need for a real change our funds will grow in proportion to the growth of Socialist understanding.

Both the Labour and Conservative posters have pictures of children to underline the emotional level of their appeals. No understanding is necessary; just vote and they will do the rest. By coincidence, the two propaganda

posters appear on the same display site as a notice of a "Clean Air Exhibition" but, unfortunately, the political smog put out by the two major Capitalist parties is not on the list for dispersal.

As the election draws near the promises will roll out faster and faster. As in the past, each Party will be trying to apply a thicker layer of sugar-coating than the other. The sad aftermath of every election is that workers find their diet of promises not very fattening.

It must be seriously understood also that Capitalism is international, so Capitalist parties which cannot solve so-called national problems internally, certainly have no solution for world problems brought about by the system they uphold.

All parties of Capitalism accept the national set-up and when elected, form governments for the purpose of maintaining the interests of their national propertied class. It is this which brings the various nations into diplomatic and military conflict. When one ruling class feels that its possessions, such as markets, oil resources, trade routes or vested interests is threatened by some rival group, they call upon the propertyless workers to fight and die for them.

Capitalism sets workers at one another's throats both nationally and internationally. Only the S.P.G.B. and its companion Parties appeal to workers as a world-wide class with common interest. The common interest of all workers is to end Capitalism with its poverty, insecurity, war, crime, and exploitation. The world can be run on a basis of commonly-owned means of production without wages or profits. The workers can run the world as they do now, only they do it for the few who own. To run it for the benefit of everyone means that they must first understand Socialism. The promotion of this understanding is the only worthwhile issue of the coming election.

H.B.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IV

Victory and what it was worth

Ask that approachable fellow, the man-in-the-street, to name a battle of the American Civil War and he will almost certainly mention Gettysburg; if history was one of his subjects at school he may remember Antietam and Manassas. These battles were all fought in the east, where the more glamorous—if that is the proper word—campaign of the war took place. If the western theatre was less famous, its effect was of greater consequence.

The Campaigns

In the north and the east, around the Potomac river, in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, the two armies grappled for each other's capital city. Washington and Richmond spent an unquiet war in consequence, always afraid of attack and pillage. The early Unionist tactics in this area were notable for their lack of aggressiveness, which allowed Lee and Jackson to gain some spectacular victories. Fortunately for the Union, these victories were rarely pressed home, because of the Confederates' heavy losses and their shortage of ammunition; they paid dearly for their industrial shortcomings. Lincoln fumed and fretted at his generals and changed them many times, until Grant's appointment as commander brought a new conception to Northern tactics. Grant kept a constant pressure on his opponents, chasing them and forcing them to battle until in the end he destroyed them.

In the south and the west the vital part of the war was forged and fought. The Union armies moved down the Mississippi river from Missouri, whilst their navy landed troops at the river's mouth to capture New Orleans. Vicksburg—an important junction of railway and river—was taken after a siege and the Union armies then moved east through the mountain gaps into Georgia. They captured Atlanta and swept on to Savannah on the Atlantic coast, plundering as they went, and cut the Confederacy in two. Although this campaign earned Grant the leadership of the Union forces, it is General Sherman's name which is always linked with the march through Georgia. His men were a harum-scarum lot, who cared little for the niceties of military dress and discipline. But they could march and fight and destroy, and this they did, through 200 miles of enemy territory. "Sherman's dashing Yankee boys," the song called them, and that was what they were. More than any other their ruthless campaign won the war for the Union.

Peace and Problems

On April 9th, 1865, General Robert E. Lee, commander of the starving and ragged Confederate army, dressed himself in his best uniform and went out to surrender. Ulysses S. Grant cut a poor figure beside the resplendent Southerner, but there was no hint of spite in the surrender terms which he offered. Washington's policy was to draw

the Southland back into the Union and to rebuild it on a sound economic basis. On April 26th Johnston—in the West—gave up and through May and June the surrenders dribbled on. Jefferson Davis was himself captured at Irwinsville, Georgia, on May 10th. From May 22nd to 25th the Northern victory was celebrated in Washington with a mass review of the armies of Grant and Sherman. Abraham Lincoln was not there to take the salute; a month before he had been shot to death in Ford's theatre by the actor John Wilkes Booth, a vain and passionate man, and a fanatical rebel.

Now that the war had been won, what was to happen about slavery? Northern policy had not been consistent. Back in November, 1861, General Fremont had proclaimed his intention of confiscating the property of rebels and setting their slaves free. Lincoln's government had been elected for its Unionist policy and was uncommitted to abolition of slavery: it found Fremont's declaration embarrassing and removed him from his command. Two things changed the government's mind. The early successes of the Confederates strengthened abolitionist sentiment in the North. And it became necessary to draw up a co-ordinated policy on emancipated slaves, for each Union commander was dealing with them in his own way. Amid the chaotic conditions then existing in Washington, Lincoln issued his Proclamation of Emancipation. When the North won, this declaration gave the American Negro the hope of a life free from chattel slavery.

Ku-Klux-Klan

The emancipation measures broke down the plantation system and many Negroes took advantage of this and went to the Northern cities to look for work. The cities were partly unwilling and, anyway, unable to accept these immigrants, and thousands of them died of hunger and cold. Eventually, New York and Chicago eased the problem with their "black reconstruction" schemes. When power was handed back to the Southern States the whites soon took control again and the right of Negroes to vote vanished beneath a blanket of trickery. Prohibitive poll taxes, tests which could prove the most learned Negro to be illiterate and open violence were often used to prevent the black man from voting. We have all heard of the

Ku-Klux-Klan, who are said to put three questions to their applicants for membership: "Do you hate Niggers? Do you hate Jews? Have you got three dollars?" These were—and are—typical of the Southland, still largely carrying on its old agricultural economy with the Negroes and the poor whites barely scratching a living from the earth. The bloodshed and the fearfulness of the civil war was over, but the loud-voiced, colourful, racial-phobia politicians still lorded it over the land of the magnolia.

But the American Civil War did not leave things all unchanged, for it was the first modern war the world has seen and it introduced several things which we have since become familiar with. Grant's strategy of incessant pressure on his enemy was a tactic repeated in World War I, in the slaughter at Passchendaele and Verdun and at Stalingrad in 1943. There was an official policy of conscription to counteract the large scale desertions from both sides, and an intensive propaganda campaign to sweeten the battering which the civilian population took through the Union blockade, the burning of Atlanta, the looting of the Shenandoah valley, and so on. London and Coventry and other English cities got similar treatment in the last war. And there was the lesson that a modern war is a social tragedy, not to be won by brilliant generals alone. The best commanders fought for the South, but the North had the industrial power and developed the necessary social organisation.

Integration

What of the present, and the future? American industry is expanding into Dixieland and needs the Negro to work in the factories alongside white people. It also requires that Negroes school themselves in the technicalities of modern industry. This expansion of productive and social knowledge is the force—more powerful than any war—which will, to use an overworked word, integrate the black and white American. Knowledge will destroy the Crufts of the human race and their theories of inborn superiority. Society's needs and progress will win. They always have.

JACK LAW.

(Concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE

Cwmbran.
Mon.
5th March, 1959.

The Editorial Committee,
"THE SOCIALIST STANDARD,"
London, S.W.4.

Dear Comrades,

In his writings prior to *Contemporary Capitalism* John Strachey had displayed his lack of understanding of Marxism and his desire to tailor the theory and practice of "Socialism" so that it fitted both Social-Democracy and Leninism. In *Contemporary Capitalism* he surpassed himself and asserted that, "Marx in fact taught that not only was it impossible for the wage earners to raise their standard of life under capitalism: he went further and announced that their standard must steadily decline." (Page 101.) Page 95 has it that Marx, "... predicted that real wages could never rise above subsistence.

so long as capitalist relations of production continued ..." and page 90 assures us Marx held that, "... the standard of life of the mass of the population ... never rises; indeed, as we shall see, Marx believed that it would actually fall below subsistence." Strachey is quite dogmatic about this. He tells us that, "The crucial passages leave no doubt that Marx took this view.", then calmly stating, "It may be sufficient to quote two of them ..." (page 101) he displays for us the famous "pauperisation" quote from the *Communist Manifesto* and the equally famous "increasing misery" quote from *Capital*, Vol. I, which in the faulty Eden & Cedar Paul translation (dealt with by Jack Fitzgerald and Riazanov, SOCIALIST STANDARD, Vol. 1932) becomes happily for Strachey "increasing poverty."

The real significance of these two passages has been dealt with in the STANDARD and it has been shown that they lend no support whatsoever to Strachey's case, but what of the other "crucial passages," the ones that Strachey doesn't quote, but keeps up his sleeves? The

(Continued on page 57)

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

APRIL



1959

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Correspondence for the Executive Committee and articles for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4, London; 'phone MAC 3811. Orders for literature to Literature Secretary. Letters containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. P.O.'s, cheques, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4 (Head Office), at 7.30 p.m.

OPTIMISM—FOR WHOM?

The *Evening Standard* reported on March 13th, on the front page:—

"Mr. Derick Heathcoat Amory, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in London to-day: 'I am absolutely convinced that our economy to-day is in better shape than it has been at any time since the end of the war.'"

"I am sure that as a nation we can face the future with a steady confidence and faith in ourselves."

Another column on the same page is headed "African gangs smash shops," and still another tells us that "Masked Gang Raid Town Strongroom." The *Daily Express* of the day before, under the heading "Ike's Berlin Shock," makes this comment:—

"President Eisenhower said to-day that America was not going to fight a ground war in Europe, where Russia could muster an overwhelming army of 175 divisions."

"The President spoke at his Press conference and left the impression that if the U.S. had to go to war over Berlin it would use nuclear weapons."

An American reporter at the conference commented "I don't know whether he has scared Krushchev, but he certainly frightens the pants off me."

In Africa, the Middle East—and, in fact, all over the world—trouble is flaring up and the governments are apprehensive, like men walking on tightropes. Unemployment in this country has grown and housing conditions for the workers are still bad—but Mr. Amory, a leading Cabinet Minister, is optimistic.

Similar optimism was expressed by the executives of our capitalist rulers between the last two great wars, but first an "economic blizzard" and then the last world war shattered the optimism for all except those who reaped a harvest out of the troubles.

The world is, and will remain, a mass of trouble as long as capitalism lasts, because capitalism with its privileged and unprivileged, its class cleavage, and its hunt for profit for the privileged contains the seeds of trouble. No sooner does one sore appear to be healed than another

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breaks out. Not all the journeyings of government spokesmen can find a path out of this morass as Macmillan's recent Russian trip bears testimony.

There is only one solution to the misery and insecurity of the mass of the world's population and that solution requires that its workers of the world realise that they perform all the functions necessary to feed, clothe and house everybody. That the reason so many go short is because the means of production are owned by a relatively small proportion of the population who reap the benefits of the worker's toil without the need to work themselves. In other words, that the workers carry parasites on their shoulders. When the workers achieve this knowledge they will realise that the solution lies in making these means of production and distribution the common and equal possession of all mankind. When this awakening occurs then genuine optimism will supersede the fatuous and spurious optimism that occasionally appears today, and Amory and his like will find their occupations gone.

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Public Meetings

Co-op Hall, 197 Mare St., E.8

(BUSES 6, 106, 170, 555, 557, 653, 677)

MONDAY 13 APRIL, 8 p.m.

The Alternative to the Labour Party

Speakers—R. Ambridge,
J. Read (Parliamentary Candidate)

MONDAY 4 MAY, 8 p.m.

"You've never had it so good!"

Speakers—R. Coster, J. Read

Questions & Discussion

"What has the modern world to offer the child born into it in a humble family? After reading the staring headlines in the newspapers, we might be tempted to answer, 'Not very much.'"

"The Cold War, revolutions, armed intervention, and the ordinary course of power politics now make up so large a part of the international scene that we have become almost indifferent to them. Scientific discovery has given us so many dangerous toys and conveniences that we accept disaster and sudden death as almost a daily occurrence."

"But apart from what we read in the newspapers, life in many corners of England can be anything but green and pleasant. Overcrowded cities, unplanned living and sub-standard housing are still the lot of many millions. However much has been delivered since the war, much remains to be done before life can be enjoyed to the full by everyone—as a matter of course. And until the world has been made a better place for him, the child of to-day is still denied a rightful part of his heritage."—(*Radio Times*).

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CORRESPONDENCE—continued from page 55

truth is that these other passages just don't exist, that Strachey is unable to advance any proof to back up his wild claims, that Strachey was, when he wrote this book, on his own admission, ignorant of the real position taken up by Marx on the living standard question which is in fact the very reverse of the position fastened on him by Mr. Strachey.

Mr. Strachey's admissions were made publicly at the Transport Hall, Cardiff, where on February 10th, 1957, he held, under the auspices of the N.C.L.C., a one-day school to discuss the scope and findings of his *Contemporary Capitalism*. I took to that school all the works of Marx and Engels available in English at that date, thus making sure that any defence offered by Mr. Strachey could be accurately examined on the spot and thus eliminating the chance of an alibi based on "writings not on hand."

During the question and discussion periods I gave Mr. Strachey the opportunity to prove to the hundred or more people present that his analysis of Marxism was correct. With every book that he could need to prove his case on hand, Mr. Strachey was unable to produce any evidence to back up his assertions other than the two quotes already mentioned. The celebrated "crucial passages" failed to materialise, not even a clue could be given as to their whereabouts!

When I read out to the school the many passages in which Marx clearly shows that the working class could increase their living standards under capitalism, Strachey admitted that he was not acquainted with any of the extracts quoted. He stated that the passages I had advanced showed that Marx had held views contrary to the ones attributed to him in *Contemporary Capitalism*. He also said that it looked as if he had over-emphasised (!) one aspect of Marx's ideas and neglected others. He was also not aware of the faulty nature of the Eden and

THE PASSING SHOW

Another Colonial Plot

In Nyasaland the Governor proclaims a state of emergency because, he says, a plot by the Africans to massacre the whites has been discovered. Southern Rhodesian security forces have been drafted into the country. There are three million Africans in Nyasaland, a sea of Negroes in which are scattered a handful of whites, no more than eight thousand all told. Despite this enormous disparity of numbers, the number of whites so far killed as a result of the "massacre plot" is—none. But more than forty Africans have up to now been slain by the security forces.

The disturbances in Nyasaland originated in the desire of the Southern Rhodesian ruling class for aggrandisement. In Southern Rhodesia, the situation is much like that in South Africa. The white farmers and planters insist on "apartheid"—although they don't call it that. Hotels, restaurants, schools, are run strictly on racial lines. Political power lies in the hands of the whites. Theoretically anyone can vote, but the great majority of Africans are barred because they must pass a means test before they can exercise the franchise. If too many Africans apply for enfranchisement, then the means test can be stiffened—this, says a writer to the *Manchester Guardian* (March 11th, 1959) has been done twice in the past.

Cedar Paul translation of *Capital*, Volume 1, from which his chief piece of "evidence" was taken. Since my quotes were mainly from *Wage Labour and Capital* and *Capital*, Vol. 1 (the majority of these quotes can be found in the January, 1957, S.S.), which are works as basic as one can get. Mr. Strachey's admissions are pretty damning.

Later, in the presence of the organizer of the school, Mr. Strachey complimented me on my "Marxian scholarship" and speaking of Marx said: "It looks as if I've done the Old Man an injustice." Scholarship is an odd word to describe a mere basic knowledge of a subject and it is intriguing to think of a term which, continuing this same picturesque tradition, will describe Mr. Strachey's lack of knowledge!

I was prepared to wait for the promised second volume by Strachey before writing anything about this encounter, but I now learn that Mr. Strachey has been acquainted with the articles written by E. W. (January, February, March, April, S.S.) on *Contemporary Capitalism* and is trying to dismiss their incontrovertible arguments as mere differences in "interpretation" of Marxian theory. This is dishonest of John Strachey, it is not the position he took up at Cardiff and it is not a position that he can maintain if he is bold enough to meet the Socialist Party in public debate. Though not a member of the Socialist Party at the time of this meeting with Strachey, the position I then took up is the same as that held by the Party, I therefore challenge Mr. Strachey to meet a representative of the Socialist Party in public debate and I can promise him that he will be very fairly treated, though I cannot promise that his cup of happiness will be overflowing or even full.

Yours fraternally,

MELVIN C. HARRIS.

The devil they know

But the parallel with South Africa goes further than this. Successive governments of the Union, while pressing the desirability of keeping whites and blacks apart, nevertheless regularly demand the handing over of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland—although these three territories together would add nearly a million Negroes to the population of South Africa. What the white South Africans want is not separation, but white domination: and so it is in Southern Rhodesia. Federation—which is in fact rule by Southern Rhodesia—was imposed on Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland against the wishes of the great majority of the Africans living in those countries. Many Nyasas travel far afield to find work: they have seen the subjection of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia to the whites, and they don't like it.

Not British

These developments have aroused much uneasiness in Britain. Modern capitalism demands educated workers; at school the worker learns enough arithmetic and English to labour at his employer's bench or keep his employer's books. Capitalism also demands enfranchised workers; the worker who votes from time to time—whether in Britain, America or Russia—believes he is

ruling himself, and this encourages him to think that the prevailing economic system is fashioned in his interests. The Southern Rhodesian ruling class, whose power is based not on industry but land, has shown itself hostile to both of these requirements. Hence the divergence of views between Britain and Southern Rhodesia. Sir Robert Armitage, the British-appointed Governor of Nyasaland, has been markedly less active in the latest developments than Sir Roy Welensky, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister of the Federation, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Premier of Southern Rhodesia itself. In Southern Rhodesia, where there had been hardly any civil disorder reported except some stone-throwing by strikers, a state of emergency was declared on February 26th. On the same day in Nyasaland, where the trouble was, a spokesman of the Government said, "there was no question of a situation requiring a state of emergency in the protectorate" (*Manchester Guardian*, February 27th, 1959): the Nyasaland state of emergency was not in fact declared until March 3rd.

As in South Africa, the inevitable industrialisation of the country will settle these problems as capitalism wants them to be settled. Socialists can leave capitalism to get over its own difficulties, and concentrate on the spread of Socialist ideas.

Never

In 1954 Mr. Henry Hopkinson, then a Conservative Minister, stood up in the House of Commons and said that there were some British colonies which could never hope to achieve independence: as an example he cited Cyprus. For the next four years the island was torn with violence: hundreds of human beings—British, Greek, Turkish—died: repeatedly British Governors announced that they could not bargain with violence, and that law and order must be restored before any constitutional advance could be made. Last month, with the terrorist groups still at large in the hills, Cyprus was granted its virtual independence. But do not expect the Ministers of the Crown to be at all abashed at having done what they said could never be done. To make a meal of their own words is no new experience for our present political leaders. They seem to thrive on the diet.

And Mr. Henry Hopkinson, whose use of the word "never" started it all? Like many another unsuccessful politician before him, he has been rewarded with a peerage. The costly struggle of the British ruling class to keep Cyprus has, at least for Mr. Hopkinson, not been entirely fruitless.

THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION

FROM the *Sunday Express* (January 18th, 1959): "The Church of England stands to make millions of pounds if the Tories win the next election. The money will come from investments in free enterprise steel. The Church's 2,187,000 shares put it among Britain's top ten investors in steel. . . . The investment is worth around £3,400,000. Growing confidence that Tory success at the polls will end the threat of renationalisation has brought a rise of nearly 50 per cent. in steel shares from the low points touched last year. This suggests that the Church is already showing a profit in the region of £1,000,000 on its holding. . . . Soon the Church's advisers will face the problem of reinvesting the £1,100,000 to be received from the take-over of its \$260,000 British Aluminium shares. This single transaction has brought the Church a profit estimated at £500,000."

Freedom from the oppressor

The Cypriot workers, who have now exchanged their British masters for a home-grown variety, and the Nyasa people, who are trying to do the same, might ponder an item of news from Pakistan. The long fight against the British—with its killings on both sides, its violence, its long jail sentences, its executions—which is only now ending in Cyprus, and seems to be getting under way in Nyasaland, has long been over in Pakistan. A decade and more ago, the British handed over authority to the new Pakistani rulers, and withdrew. The Pakistani workers expected their long struggle to result in a new and better era. How disappointed they must be now.

A letter to the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* (March 12th, 1959) runs in part as follows:—

"A little less than a month ago you briefly reported a large strike at the largest jute mill centre in the world at Narayanganj, East Pakistan. This involved some twenty thousand workers, and the dispute resulted from a demand for the continuance of Sunday as a day of rest, instead of staggering holidays throughout the week as ordered by the managements on alleged technical grounds.

"On the following day there was a partial return to work, and a large cavalcade of officers descended on the mills, led by Major-General Umrao Khan, the East Pakistan Martial Law Administrator.

"Addressing the workers, he proclaimed that 'the strike being illegal, everyone who had absented himself from work had committed an offence, and was liable to punishment under the Martial Law Regulations. He made it clear that the ring-leaders who had been arrested, would not in any circumstances be released and those who continued to play into their hands would not escape punishment.'

"That this was intelligent anticipation has since become clear by an announcement that Lieutenant-Colonel S. A. Zaman Khan, President of the Special Military Court trying the ten employees of the Adamjee Jute Mills under the Martial Law Regulations, had sentenced them to between five and six years' rigorous imprisonment and flogging for resorting to an illegal strike.

Five years' jail, and a flogging, for going on strike to keep Sunday as a day off! The British themselves could hardly have been worse than the new rulers of Pakistan. What a lesson this is on the futility of those who mislead the workers into fighting for the removal of one ruling class, and its replacement by another. If only the Nyasa workers could learn this lesson now, instead of when they have firmly saddled a new Nyasa ruling class on their own backs, what years of useless strife could they save themselves. Even if the fight for "independence" is won quickly, the real battle will still have to be faced: the struggle for an end to all ruling classes, the struggle for Socialism.

ALWYN EDGAR.

The prophets of the early days for truth made spartan search. They lived on nuts and wore apparel strange; But now in more enlightened times the profits of the Church Are made in dealings on the Stock Exchange. "Take no thought for the body," said the Gospel of St. Luke, "Consider ye the lilies of the field." They considered: but, while thinking, much more worldly steps they took, And placed their cash to get the highest yield. Do they pray, in their churches, that the Consols may not fall? Do they beg, as they kneel, that oil may rise? Do they summon the Almighty to keep closer on the ball So their shares, like their prayers, may hit the skies? The Church complains it cannot reach the workers—it despairs That it doesn't find them very fruitful soil; But the Church can reach the workers other ways—by buying shares, And grabbing surplus value from their toil.

ALWYN EDGAR.

THE ECONOMICS OF HEALTH

2. Food and Profits

SIR JACK DRUMMOND, the nutritional expert who was murdered in the South of France a few years ago, declared that if we were to put the nation's diet right we could close half our hospitals. Drummond was well aware of the extent of food sophistication, that most of our foods are adulterated, preserved, coloured with dyes, treated with anti-oxidants and anti-staling agents (not anti-Stalin agents), sprayed with poisonous concoctions and grown in soil which has been treated with chemicals. A lot of our foods have gone through all these processes—in fact, any food that comes from a factory and is canned or packed up in some way, has had most of these mysterious treatments. For what purpose is all this done to our food? Who has demanded that food should be grown artificially, have its vitamins removed, have chalk mixed with it, have it bleached with poisonous gases, and various chemicals added so that it will keep twice as long in a soft condition than it otherwise would? Whoever made such requests to food manufacturers? The answer is that nobody has ever asked that any of these things shall be done to his or her food—they are all done without our wishes and in many cases without our knowledge.

There are about 700 chemicals used in the manufacture of foodstuffs and most of this delightful list has not been sufficiently tested to determine precisely its toxicological effects upon the human body. This fact was referred to in an address given by Sir Edward Mellanby as President of the Medical Research Council. But let us ask again why are these foods tampered with in such a way? The answer is that it enables products to be sold and hence a profit made—which is the prime object. Caviar is not used to adulterate sausages nor brandy to sophisticate beer, because this would be unprofitable.

Why does the farmer grow wheat? Because there are people who want bread? No fear; so far as he is concerned they can starve if they have not the money to pay for it. There are people wanting all sorts of things, but nobody is going to try to provide them because there is no profit to be made. Yes, profit! The farmer grows wheat with a view to making profit, on which he lives. The miller grinds the corn to flour for the self-same delightful purpose—that of making profit. The baker bakes bread for no other purpose than profit. If it is profitable to use artificial fertilisers to grow more wheat, and barley, potatoes and sugar-beet then the farmer employs artificial fertilisers. If the miller discovers that by bleaching flour he can sell more of it, then it is bleached white, or if required, he would colour it purple to aid his sales. When he finds that by extracting vitamins from his flour he can keep it longer and so prevent germination, which would prejudice sales, then the germ of the wheat is extracted. If the baker finds that people want bread that does not go stale in 24 hours, and are prepared to pay for a loaf that is more like a pudding, then who can blame him if he makes it so? So long as society is run in this way we will have the present state of affairs—the factor that is wrong is neither the farmer, the miller nor the baker, nor even the public, but the social set-up that produces these idiotic and harmful phenomena. Fancy selling foods by colour. Not only are sweets made in all the colours of the rainbow with aniline dyes, but so are jams, confectionery

and tinned foods. In older days, in order to adulterate a sack of flour a miller, if sufficiently unscrupulous, would put a heavy stone in it. The size of the stone was usually proportional to his scruples. To-day it is necessary to be a little more scientific and grind the stone down to powder and mix it carefully with the flour. Perhaps to-day's process is the most dangerous for it cannot be so easily extracted as the former stone could. But the motive is precisely the same. Of course, ordinary stones are not used, but special ones—chalk and various powders functioning as anti-oxidants and anti-staling agents, and substances to soak up water, which makes a loaf more like a sponge, or causes water to stand up on end. All these chemical treatments masquerade under the name of "improvers," meaning that they improve the profits of the baker.

H. JARVIS.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

Industrial Unionism

"Industrial Unionism" is merely a pleasant name for Anarchism and "Direct Action." It is one of those almost inevitable elements of confusion and disorganisation which beset the working class in its advance. Every dog has its day: and every freak idea its boom, as though the workers were prepared to traverse every avenue of error before keeping steadily to the right road. The freak idea that the workers can, without the conquest of political power and by means of an industrial organisation alone, "take and hold" the means of life from the capitalists, is one that has just enjoyed its brief boom: but its hollowness has been quickly seen, and its followers have, in consequence, been rapidly dropping away.—(From the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, April, 1909.)

PAMPHLETS

Questions of the Day	...	1/- (Post free 1/2)
The Socialist Party and War	...	1/- (" " 1/2)
Russia Since 1917	...	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Communist Manifesto and the Last Hundred Years	...	1/- (" " 1/2)
The Racial Problem—A Socialist Analysis	...	1/- (" " 1/2)
Socialism	...	4d. (" " 6d.)
Socialism or Federal Union?	...	4d. (" " 6d.)
The Socialist Party: Its Principles and Policy	...	4d. (" " 6d.)
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	...	4d. (" " 6d.)
Nationalisation or Socialism?	...	6d. (" " 8d.)
Socialist Comment	...	6d. (" " 8d.)

All obtainable from the Literature Committee,
52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

PARTY NEWS BRIEFS

Propaganda. It will be seen by the list of meetings advertised in this issue, that much activity is taking place in order to spread the Party message. In Bethnal Green, where we are planning to contest the next General Election, regular meetings are being held, and canvassing of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is part of the plan to contact workers and get them acquainted with the party and its case. Kingston Branch has been very active and has arranged a series of indoor propaganda meetings, a new venture which is being well supported by the Branch members and other comrades. Islington and Lewisham Branches hold regular meetings which are attracting sympathisers, and it is hoped, new members.

May Day, Sunday, May 3rd. In London there will be a Rally in Hyde Park from 2.30 to 6 p.m., where Comrades D'Arcy, May, Willmot and Young, will be on the platform and Comrade Ambridge will be Chairman. It is not really necessary to urge members to support this occasion as it is usually very well attended, but it should be stressed that members can take an active part here; there is literature to be displayed and sold, and the meeting generally supported. The Hyde Park Rally will terminate at 6 p.m. promptly in order that our efforts can be centred on Denison House, where a meeting is being held from 7 p.m. Comrades Grant, Lake and Mostyn will speak, and the subject, "Socialism is International." With the zest and interest that is apparent in the membership nowadays, May Day, 1959, should be most successful.

Ireland. Party members will be pleased that from April 4th to the 11th, Comrade Coster is visiting Ireland. His visit has been organised by the S.P. of Ireland, and on arrival at Belfast, Comrade Coster will be met by the local Comrades and will go on to Dublin. Whilst there, he will attend a Conference of the Irish comrades—they hope to press a resolution at the Conference to change the name of the Irish Party to the World Socialist Party. Comrade Coster will return to Dublin to address an arranged public meeting and also other organisations and have a "get together" with the Irish Comrades. It is hoped that this is the first of many such visits by Comrades to the Emerald Isle.

Swansea. Comrade Ambridge gave a public lecture on "Is Labour the Way to Socialism?" at Swansea Central Library recently. According to the local press who wrote up the meeting in detail, it was "followed with interest by a small audience." Such write-ups, together with the correspondence from local comrades which is regularly printed in the columns of the local papers, help considerably to get the Party case known in Wales. Much work is being done by the Swansea Group who hope that it will not be long before they can proudly acclaim that they are the Swansea Branch of the Party.

Dartford Branch recently held its 500th meeting and the occasion was marked by a celebration supper at the "Black Prince," Bexley. Twenty-four members and friends sat down to the meal and took the opportunity



to discuss past activity and the future outlook of the Party and the Branch. One young hopeful, after the meal, engaged three Party Comrades in animated discussion. It is hoped that he profited by the knowledge gained! At least the act of thinking "on his feet," promises well. The Dartford members were heartened by the attendance of Comrades from other branches, and of the General and Assistant General Secretaries, and the Branch extends its thanks to them all. It is hoped that those who missed this event, will look out for, and attend, the 1,000th meeting "do." The Branch, so handicapped by the scattered membership, has now, thanks to one comrade, begun canvassing in the Eltham area. Results are already promising. Arrangements are in hand for a debate with the North Kent Socialist League. It is to be held at the Labour Club, Lowfield Street, Dartford, on Friday, April 17th, at 8 p.m. Subject: "Which Group should the Working Class support?" At the time of writing these notes, it is not known who will represent the Party or the N.K.S.L., but it is hoped to get this information to Party members in time for them to support the debate. Regular discussions are held on the second Friday of each month, and all are welcome. A special invitation is extended to readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD in the Dartford area. The Labour Club, Lowfield Street, is easy to find. It is convenient for bus, Green Line, or train—and the Party name is on the room door. The Branch will be happy to welcome you.

Debate at London College. Next month will be given details of a debate which took place recently at a University Union when Comrades D'Arcy and Mostyn, of Islington Branch represented the Party.

"If we are to survive" was the title of the lecture given at Denison House, Victoria, on Sunday, March 15th. Organised by Paddington Branch, the meeting was very well attended and the audience listened to Comrades Coster and Willmott, showing their interest by the questions and discussion which could have gone on much beyond closing time. A collection of over Thirteen Pounds was donated. This will greatly assist the Branch in meeting the cost of this venture, and it is to be hoped, by more such successful meetings. Paddington Branch planned this meeting well in advance and the result is certainly most gratifying.

P. H.

THE WORKER

ON Mediterranean shores, on the sands of Waikiki, on Caribbean waters, these are among the places where the worker is to be found. But not in great numbers and not stretched out on his back. He will be found in these places in just those numbers that are required to wash, clothe, feed and minister in other ways to the wants and comforts of people who have neither the need nor the urge to look after themselves.

There are places where the worker can be found in far greater numbers: the swamps of Florida, the forests of British Columbia, the auto plants of Michigan, the mining camps of Ontario; places that he is far more accustomed to, where the produce of nature is moulded into things useful to man; far places, near places, places of dirt and smoke, and smoke and sweat and work.

The worker is a handy sort of person to have around. Without him the Mediterranean shores would lose most of their splendour, the waves would wash over Waikiki unsung by travel agencies, the waters of the Caribbean would abound in ocean life undisturbed by intrepid sportsmen. Without him there would be no smoke over Pittsburgh, no satellites over Moscow; no grandeur in Rome, no pomp in London; no magnificence in Washington, no bull in Ottawa; no joy in the hearts of those who live without working.

To ensure that he creates an abundance of the finer things of life for other people and a sufficiency of other things to care for his own needs, in the way of food, clothing and shelter, plus a bit extra for tobacco and the raising of a family to take his place in production when he grows old, and also to ensure that this state of affairs be protected to infinity, that is the fondest aim of those in whose care rests the destiny of society. That is the blessed eternity that the owners of the world and their spokesmen dream and yearn and sigh for. What finer world could be envisaged than one in which the workers work happily on simple fare and the non-workers live happily on the rest?

Somehow this doesn't sound just right, does it? Somehow it seems that somebody is getting away with something, that there should be a better set-up than one in which the workers wind up with rations while people who do nothing useful live on the fat of the land. Yet that's how it is.

There is a lot said in high places about talking turkey to the Russians and hanging one on the nose of some other foreigner. There are grandiose plans in governing circles for intercontinental guided missiles and improved types of atom bombs. There is much said about foreign trade, tariffs, agreements and embargoes. The world we live in treats the wealth of the owning class with the greatest reverence. It has to be guarded by every means, shifted here and shifted there, moved within the terms of international understandings, cared for and catered to in every way that will benefit the owners. And these antics are all assumed to be in the interest of the whole community, the theory being that what is good for General Bullmoose is good for everybody. But after everything has been done according to plan, it still works out that the worker finds himself by the palm trees, the rolling waves, the silvery sands, for no better reason than to work. Either that or he is trespassing.

It doesn't have to be like that. But if someone thinks that maybe the other fellow will do something about it, he had better move back to the beginning and start thinking some more. The other fellow has too many things to do. He has a world in his lap, placed there by the worker. How can he enjoy to the full the bounteous produce of labour and at the same time concern himself about its grubby producer? Besides, what can be wrong with a world that is so full of wonderful things and places—and so much time in which to enjoy them?

Thoughts like these are hard to counter. There is logic in the other fellow's position—logic for him. But it could be different for the worker. This kind of logic doesn't help to build up his supply of caviar or contribute to the upkeep of his coach and four. He needs more. And when he has gotten down to some serious thought and study and found out what really goes on in society, there is no doubt whatever about the outcome: he will know what needs to be done and he will know who has to do it.

He will know that the reason he and his family and his kind receive so little while the other people mentioned receive so much is that he and his kind are members of the working class, having no share in the ownership of the means of production and distribution and forced in order to live to work for these other people, the members of the capitalist class. He will know that the workers are forced to do this because the capitalists own the means of production and distribution and will allow their operation only on condition that it brings them a profit. He will know, too, that this profit comes from the amount of wealth produced by the workers in excess of their own essential needs and that the capitalist class exert constant pressure to increase this excess and so their profit, even to the extent of lowering the subsistence level of the workers. Knowing this, he will also know that the only way for the workers to rid themselves of the shackles of subservience and want is to transform the means of production and distribution from capitalist property to common property, introducing at last a condition in which human needs will be satisfied unaffected by the restraints, dictates and diversions of an owning class.

And since the class ownership of the means of life is protected for the capitalists by their control over the government, the worker will know, too, that he and his fellows must become organised in a political party designed to bring about the necessary transformation. Then he will join the Socialist Party.

(Reproduced from a Leaflet published by the Socialist Party of Canada.)

LETTERS FROM READERS INVITED

Our last Annual Conference decided that a section of the SOCIALIST STANDARD be reserved for letters from readers as a regular feature. Readers are invited to send letters of comment and criticism and questions for answer. Letters should be kept as short as possible as space is limited, and the shorter the letters the larger the number that can be printed. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

SMALL SHOPKEEPERS AND THE GOVERNMENT

A DOZEN years or so ago, the small shopkeepers of Britain—those, who, looking in the social mirror, see themselves as part of a non-existent "middle class"—were "cashing in" on a market depleted by the hardships of the 1939-45 world war.

In those days of a "sellers" market, requiring no "salesmanship," the goods flowed off the shelves and the cash flowed into the tills with an unrestricted rhythm that brought some recompense for their "behind the counter" drudgery. Some of them even had visions of forsaking their imaginary "middle class" status and paving their uphill route with sufficient pound notes into the coveted ranks of the bourgeois élite!

Such ambitions, however, founded as they are on the "quicksands" of boom and slump trading, can be likened to Omar's lines:—

"The worldly hope men set their hearts upon
Turns ashes, or it prospers and anon,
Like snow upon the desert's dusty face
Lighting a little hour or two is gone."

For, from 1956 onwards, a "rot" set in, until to-day they are struggling to pay accounts for goods pressed on them by the "couriers" of commerce, the so-called "high pressure salesmen."

Unfortunately the majority of these small shopkeepers do not understand the real nature of the "Good" or "Bad" times they experience behind the counters of their "slave pens." Pathetically enough, they put their trust in the Government of the day as being some autonomous power capable of shaping their destiny. Indeed, this outlook is not limited by any means to small shopkeepers. As an illustration, there are the recent delegations to Parliament of representatives of the Lancashire cotton industry alarmed at the "foreign" cotton imports which threaten to put them in "Carey Street."

The question arises—Is "the Government" the sole arbiter of imports and exports? If it were, there is no reason why it should not accede to the demands of any particular trade delegation and thereby ensure continued political support. However, there are *economic forces* at work as a result of the *present organisation of society into competing groups of Nations* which determine, by and large, the actions of the British Government or any other national entity. As Sir Anthony Eden remarked after the Suez action: "... My hand was forced ..." and what forced his hand but the plain unvarnished need of British commercial interests for the uninterrupted flow of oil via the Canal? "Great Men" or "Lofty Ideals" notwithstanding.

But to return to our small shopkeepers—many of whom do not even own the premises they occupy and, in the case of newsagents, have to rise earlier than the majority of factory operatives. One such newsagent, known personally to this writer, rises at 4.45 a.m., remains "open" until 8 p.m. and has not even had the orthodox "capitalist" holiday for years on end. In addition, he "opens" on Sundays until noon.

Whilst this may be an isolated case of very long hours, these small one-man shopkeepers certainly *qualify* as members of the working class! They are really salesmen for capitalist concerns.

Yet many of them are Tories or Labourites, identifying their interests with the ruling class in Britain who exploit them. Mostly they have vague ideas about "Fair Trading," but when asked to define such a misnomer as this, they can only lamely point to the local "cut-price" competitor, failing to realise that this is the "healthy competition" they give their political support to when voting for capitalism to continue.

In conclusion, so long as world society is split up into rival groups of nations, competing with one another for the sale of their commodities, with 90 per cent. of the national wealth owned by 10 per cent. of the population, causing as it does, the POVERTY which besets the mass of the human race, there can be no solution in agitating for fiddling reforms or hoping for "better times" under the present or any future "governments."

What IS required is the total abolition of *class ownership* of social wealth, including mines, electricity plants, productive machinery of all kinds and transport on land, sea, and in the air. In short, the abolition of *commodity* production, with its buying and selling and advertising: shoddy goods for the masses, but diamond tiaras for the few. Its centrally-heated mansions, and oil-stove shivering hovels. To say nothing of the colossal waste of human lives and socially produced wealth in recurrent wars, etc. Is this the sort of world small shopkeepers are striving for?

It not, then they should join up with the world movement for the achievement of Socialism, helping to abolish the chain of wage slavery wherein they are but a link.

G. R. RUSSELL.

YOU HELP BY

- Asking Newsagents and Libraries to display S/S.
- Selling "Socialist Standard" wherever possible.
- Inviting enquirers to discussions.
- Canvassing in New Areas.

PUBLICATION DATE OF "SOCIALIST STANDARD"

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.



OUTDOOR MEETINGS

SUNDAYS

Hyde Park	3.30—7 p.m.
East Street (Walworth)	
April 5th 11 a.m.	
" 12th 11 a.m.	
" 19th 12.30 p.m.	
" 26th 12.30 p.m.	

LUNCH HOUR MEETINGS

Tower Hill Thursdays at 1 p.m.

Meetings

MAY DAY RALLY Sunday, May 3rd.
Hyde Park, 2.30-6 p.m.
Denison House, 7 p.m.

For details see advert page 51.

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN
Public Meetings, Co-op. Hall, 197, Mare Street, E.8.
Mondays, April 13th and May 4th, 8 p.m.
For details see advert page 56.

BRISTOL BRANCH
May Day, Sunday May 3rd at 6 p.m. Meeting on Durdham Downs, Bristol.

DARTFORD BRANCH
—See News Briefs (page 60).

EALING BRANCH
"Report from an American Factory"
A short film, followed by a discussion on Automation, opened by S. Smith, Friday, April 10th at 8 p.m., Windsor Road, Memorial Hall, Ealing Broadway.

FULHAM & CHELSEA BRANCH
Lectures on Thursdays, 8 p.m., at Wilcox, 668 Fulham Road, S.W.6 (near Munster Road).
April 9th "The Mormons" Vic Phillips
April 23rd and May 14th to be announced
May 28th "William Morris Debunked" F. Offord

GLASGOW CITY & KELVINGROVE BRANCHES
Public Meeting, Sunday, April 26th at 7.30 p.m., St. Andrews Halls, Door G, Room 2.
"Germany—Whose Problem?" J. Higgins and J. Craig

KINGSTON BRANCH
Three Public Meetings, The Public Library (Lecture Room), Fairfield West, Kingston-on-Thames, Thursdays, 8 p.m.

April 2nd "Must Men War?" R. Critchfield
April 16th "What Politics Means to You"
April 30th "Race & Nationalism" I. Jones E. Grant

LEWISHAM BRANCH
Discussion—of particular interest to Party members. Room 1, Davenport House, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, S.E.6, Monday, April 13th, 8.15 p.m.
"Attitudes of Propaganda" opened by R. Guy (Discussion will be continued on April 27th)

WEST HAM BRANCH
Lectures at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12, Thursdays, 8 p.m.
April 9th "S.P.G.B. & the Anti-Nuclear Campaign" J. Bradley
April 23rd "Marxism & Darwinism" R. Coster

WOOLWICH BRANCH
Lecture at Town Social Club, Masons Hill, S.E.18, Friday, April 17th, 8 p.m.
"May Day" Vic Phillips

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds:—

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce, but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

ADDRESSES OF COMPANION PARTIES

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, P.O. Box 1440, Melbourne. Sydney: 29, Doris Street, North Sydney. Box 2291, G.P.O. Sydney.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, P.O. Box 115, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND, Patrick Boylan, 115, Walkinstown Drive, Walkinstown, Dublin, Eire, and, Sec., 29, Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND, P.O. Box 62, Petone, New Zealand.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, 11, Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston, 9, Mass., U.S.A.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD, WESTERN SOCIALIST and other Socialist literature can be obtained from the above.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

(Non-members cordially invited to meetings. Inquiries should be addressed to Secretary at the addresses given below.)

- BRISTOL**.—Secretary: J. Flowers, 6, Backfields (off Upper York Street), Bristol, 2. Tel.: BRISTOL 24680.
- CHELTEMHAM**.—Secretary: Ken Smith, 333, Swindon Road, Cheltenham.
- DUNDEE GROUP**.—For information write to W. Elphinstone, 10, Benzie Road, Dundee.
- EDINBURGH**. Enquiries to A. Hollingshead, 39, Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh.
- LANCASTER & MORECAMBE**. Readers and sympathisers can contact M. Shaw, 38, Arnsid Crescent, Morecambe.
- MANCHESTER** Sec.: J. M. Breakey, Dennison 2, Avenue, Manchester 20. Phone: DIDSbury 5709.
- MITCHAM & DISTRICT**. Meets monthly on Tuesdays (April 14th) at "White Hart," Mitcham cricket green. Secretary: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
- NEWPORT & DISTRICT**.—Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. Dates and subjects advertised in "South Wales Argus"; or write to Sec. M. Harris, 25, Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, near Newport, Mon.
- OLDHAM**.—Group meets Wednesdays, 7.30, at address of R. Lees, 35, Manchester St. Phone MAI 5165.
- REDHILL AND REIGATE DISTRICT**.—C. E. Smith, 88, Chart Lane, Reigate Surrey.
- SWANSEA**.—Enquiries to V. Brain, 17, Bryn a Wellon Rd., Pencroft, N. Llanelly.

GENERAL ELECTION—APPEAL FOR FUNDS

The Socialist Party needs money urgently for the General Election.

In East London our members have already been working for months, preparing an all out campaign in the Bethnal Green constituency. Meetings are being held, canvassers are going from door to door, the local papers are advertising our activities.

This work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

We have great hopes for this campaign. Last year's L.C.C. elections in the same area gave the encouragement we needed. This time we believe we can achieve still more for the Socialist cause in this constituency.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52 CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

We shall not hoard it. We shall spend it almost immediately on more work for the next election's only Socialist campaign.

SCHOOLS TO-DAY

A fundamental approach to this important question. Explains the why and the wherefore of modern trends.

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BRANCH MEETINGS

All meetings are open to the public and visitors are welcomed.

- BASILDON** (Previously Wickford). Branch meets on Thursdays at 7.30 p.m., at the Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence to Secretary, R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
- BIRMINGHAM** meets Thursdays, 8.0 p.m., at "Big Bull's Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence to Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham, 14.
- BLOOMSBURY**. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays in month at 7.30 p.m. (April 2nd and 16th) at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- BRADFORD AND DISTRICT**. The branch Secretary will be very pleased to answer all enquiries. Write, Peter Hall, 10, Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds, 6, or ring Bradford 71904 at any time.
- CAMBERWELL** meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence to Sec. H. Baldwin, 334, South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
- DARTFORD** meets every Friday at 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after branch business. Sec.: S. Roope, 42, Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.
- EALING** Fridays at 8 p.m. sharp. Weekly at The Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing (nr. Ealing Broadway). Correspondence to E. T. Critchfield, 48, Balfour Road, W.13.
- ECCLES** meets 2nd Friday in month, at 7.30 p.m., at 5, Gaskell Road, Eccles Secretary, F. Lea.
- FULHAM AND CHELSEA**. Meet 1st and 3rd Thursdays in the month at 8 p.m., at 668 Fulham Rd. S.W.6. (Wilcox. nr. Munster Rd.) All correspondence to Secretary L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: SLO 5258.
- GLASGOW** (City) Communications to Sec. J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, Glasgow, W.5. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays (April 1st and 15th) at 8 p.m. The Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, C.1.
- GLASGOW** (Kelvingrove) meets alternate Mondays (April 6th and 20th) at 8 p.m. at Partick Burgh Hall, Partick. Communications to H. Stewart, 617, Maryhill Road, Glasgow N.W.
- HACKNEY** meets Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m., at Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3. (Patriot Square entrance). Sec.: S. Dane, 19, Edith Street, E.2.
- HAMPSTEAD** Enquiries to F. Webb, 52, Goldbeaters Grove, Burnt Oak, Edgware. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. (April 1st and 15th). 126, Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8. (Near South Hampstead Midland Region Station).
- ISLINGTON**. Secretary, R. E. Carr, S.P.G.B., c/o. Co-op. Hall, 129, Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Branch Meetings held at this address Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lecture or discussion after Branch business.
- KINGSTON-ON-THAMES** Sec., 19, Spencer Road, East Molesey (Tel. MOL 6492). Branch meets Thursday at 8 p.m. at above address.
- LEWISHAM** meets Mondays, 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, (Room 1) Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Sec. P. Hart, 22, Great Elms Road, Bromley. Tel. Rav. 7811.
- NOTTINGHAM** meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m., at the Peoples Hall, Heathcoat St., Nottingham. Enquiries to Secretary, 83, Portland Road, Waverley Street, Nottingham.
- PADDINGTON** meets Wednesdays, 8.0 p.m. The Olive Branch, Crawford Street (Corner Homer, Street, Harebone W.1. Discussion after Branch business. All correspondence to C. May, 1, Hanover Road, N.W.10.
- SOUTHEND** Branch meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 19, Kingswood Chas., Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday in the month at 7.30 p.m. at 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea. Secretary, Dick Jacobs, 17, Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.
- TOTTENHAM** Enquiries should be made to Wood Green and Hornsey Branch.
- WEST HAM** meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. at Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions after each meeting from 9 p.m. Communications to A. J. Cripps, 35, Clinton Road, West Ham, E.7.
- WOOD GREEN AND HORNSEY** Branch meets Fridays, 7.30 p.m., at 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (on 41 'Bus route, off Tottenham Lane near "Hope & Anchor"). Communications to Secretary at above address.
- WOOLWICH** meets 2nd and 4th Friday of month, 7 p.m. Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussion after branch business (8 p.m.). Sec. H. C. Ramsey, 9, Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

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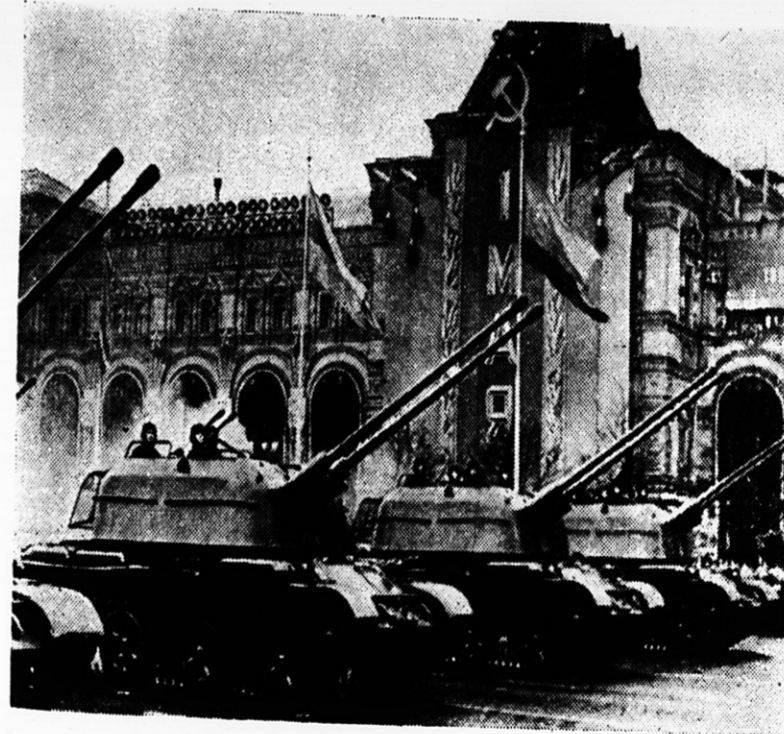
MAY DAY SYMBOLISES THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR

The Debasement of May Day

★
Yesterday
and
Today
★



Designed by Walter Crane to commemorate May Day 1891



Part of May Day Parade, Red Square, Moscow 1958

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Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The Debasement of May Day

May Day, Yesterday and To-day

MAY DAY is here again, with its different kinds of celebrations. The one we are concerned with is the demonstrations and processions by workers that have been a feature in many parts of the world since the last decade of the 19th century.

We are holding our own May Day demonstrations, but ours are solely concerned with the advancement of our object, the achievement of Socialism.

May Day demonstrations began with the passing of a resolution by the Second International Working Men's Association in 1889 to set aside the first of May as a workers' holiday in order to hold mass meetings to affirm the international solidarity of labour. The idea originated in a movement demanding the reduction of the daily hours of labour.

Although this was the official beginning of Labour May Day demonstrations it had been preceded by a movement in America in 1886 for a reduction of the hours of labour. This ended when the police fired on a peaceful meeting in Chicago, and arrested and executed some of the leaders who were subsequently referred to in the Labour movement as the "Chicago Martyrs." The trial of these leaders was a travesty of legal procedure, and the intention to convict and execute them as "dangerous agitators" was obvious throughout the proceedings. This brutal attempt to quell the workers' struggle for better conditions was a failure, as became evident not long afterwards.

From 1889 onwards the Social Democratic Parties, together with the Trade Unions and other groups, had mass demonstrations on May Day, but in the course of time part of the original idea disappeared. Nowadays, instead of staying away from work on the 1st of May for the purpose of demonstrating, the first Sunday in May is chosen. This has taken some of the anti-capitalist fervour out of the movement.

In times gone by, however mixed up and side-tracked the participants in the procession may have been, these earlier demonstrations were at least demonstrations against the domination and iniquity of capital.

In this country the main participants in May Day were the Trade Unions, the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Labour Party, The Fabian Society and, after 1906, the Labour Party.

At these demonstrations resolutions were carried against war, against exploitation, against child labour, and against Imperialism and the domination of oppressed groups of all colours.

In London Hyde Park was the centre of the demonstration. Huge crowds lined up on the Embankment and marched to Hyde Park in formation according to the group they represented, each accompanied by banners with a variety of slogans. At Hyde Park there were

numerous platforms from which the ideas of each group were put forward, and to which masses of people, as well as those who had marched, flocked to hear the speakers. At a pre-arranged time the speaking stopped and a resolution acclaiming the international solidarity of labour was put from each platform, and carried with wild enthusiasm.

How different is the scene today, though superficially similar! Gone is the old fervour, misdirected, though much of it may have been. The rise of Russian State Capitalism has temporarily put the clock back. Though we took no part in these demonstration, as we knew they could achieve nothing fundamental, we yet had a sympathy for the anti-capitalist spirit behind these mass expressions of working class solidarity. They were workers, like ourselves, and, though filled with hazy half-formed ideas, yet giving expression to their antagonism to Capitalism in the only way they understood.

Now the demonstrations still take place but, apart from our own, they are largely Communist inspired for the purpose of supporting Russian State Capitalism, to which has since been added the State Capitalism of countries which have lately come into the same misleading orbit. They have long ceased to be demonstrations of the solidarity of labour against capital. In Russia they are demonstrations of Russia's armed might, tanks and guns being a large part of the proceedings.

In the early years of the Socialist Party of Great Britain we were treated with scorn as impossibilists who would soon depart from the working class movement. Yet time has shown that we were the only realists and possibilists. The reformers of long ago who claimed to be Socialists have been swamped by the reform movements they supported. Some have departed from the scene, some linger on moribund, others, like the Labour Party, have become open supporters of Capitalism and are still trying to rub some of the rough edges off of it.

Our message for May Day is the same as it has always been, and is the same for every day of the year. More than that, it is the only message of hope in a distracted world. The ills the workers suffer today are the product of Capitalism; a system in which the means of production and distribution are owned by a privileged class who accumulate wealth from the labour of the working class which lives by the sale of its labouring power to the owning class.

The goods the workers produce have to be sold on the markets of the world so that the Capitalist owners can reap their profit. Hence there is a struggle for markets, trade routes and sources of supply. Out of these struggles wars develop as well as the other iniquities that flourish today and flourished yesterday. As long as Capitalism lasts there is no cure for the evils it throws up. Reformers,

however well intentioned, cannot accomplish any lasting cures for these evils. The only sure and effective cure is to remove the source from which these evils flow—remove Capitalism and replace it by a system in which everything that is in and on the earth is the common possession of all mankind. A system in which all those who are able will take part in producing what is required and each will receive what he needs.

Our message therefore is a message of hope. The evils of today can be removed when the workers understand their cause, the remedy, and organise together in Socialist Parties to apply that remedy.

GILMAC.

Reflections on the Election

When Will It Be?

MR. MACMILLAN'S government cannot live much longer. Its term of office expires in May next year, so the Prime Minister must already be thinking about dissolving Parliament. Doubtless, he will try to choose the date most advantageous to his party; he has recently been offered a lot of journalistic advice on this.

Last year, when stating that he would not call a general election for some time, Mr. Macmillan said that he was putting the Labour Party out of their agony. Certainly, they were then very eager for an election, for the Gallup Poll gave them a significant lead and the bye-elections were running their way. Since then, if these things are a reliable guide, the Labour Party has lost some ground. Now, with a general election in the offing, the agony must have returned.

The Budget

The 1959 Budget is the last before the General Election; it was, therefore, widely expected to be a popular one, intended to upset as few voters as possible and to please as many as possible. Mr. Amory came up to expectations. The cuts in income tax, although no worker will benefit by more than a few shillings a week, were soothing balm on a sore spot. Income tax is a constant grievance amongst the working class, who weekly sigh over their decapitated wage packets, for the days when they were not qualified to pay the tax. The fact which is forgotten is that they were really no better off in those days than they are now; the source of their poverty is not in any tax but in their social situation. The reduction in the price of beer was an earthy touch, guaranteed to make the headlines and proving that Old Etonian Cabinet Ministers are aware of what the "lower classes" drink.

Another Tory ace is made up of Mr. Macmillan's journey to Moscow and his promotion of what are called talks at the summit. Nothing new about this—but what

better face can a politician show than that of a man of peace? It seems to escape notice that they have often been so described when actually preparing for war. Never mind—it is claimed that Mr. Macmillan's diplomatic efforts are restoring Britain's international prestige. This must strongly appeal to those workers who are ignorant of the international poverty and interests of their class and who yearn to see Great Britain again a leading world power, almost as people who live in Highbury long to see the Arsenal at the top of the League.

The Labour Party

The Labour Party has had to work hard to break down these images of Conservative success. Their spokesmen have displayed all the usual ingenuity in attacking the Budget, playing down the parts which they think may win votes and asking awkward questions about the others. In the House of Commons on April 8th Mr. Harold Wilson said that, although the Tories have reduced the price of beer ("condescending" he called this), three years ago they increased the price of school milk. He also made the usual sympathetic noises about old age pensioners and the chronically sick. This must have gone down well in some places but, at a guess, was not generally as effective as Mr. Amory's Budget.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party has been busily designing its policies to appeal to the voters. At last year's Annual Conference, opposing a resolution in favour of land nationalisation, Mr. Tom Williams, M.P., said:—

To win power is our first duty . . . Don't commit political suicide by importing additions into this policy statement that may destroy our chances at the next general election.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne,
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin, Eire
Sec: 29 Lincoln Avenue, Antrim Road, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone, New Zealand

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass., U.S.A.

Mr. Richard Crossman, the party executive's spokesman in this debate, wound up by asking the mover of the resolution, in the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, "... whether she thought her assertion would help to win a constituency."

This cynical attitude is matched by the Conservatives. The fact that the Prime Minister will deliberately time an election to give his own party the greater chance of winning, and that a Chancellor of the Exchequer will always try to produce a popular Budget before a general election, is an indication of their desire to win votes.

Optimistic

Whilst the two great parties are sparring with each other and courting the electors with their peacock programmes, it is as well to face a few facts. Capitalism is capitalism, whether administered to Tory or Labour governments. It has an unpleasant habit of upsetting the best laid schemes of the smoothest politicians and of persisting in throwing up the same problems. Insecurity? A few months back unemployment in this country was higher—600,000. War? Towards the end of this month the dispute over Berlin, which has been going on for more than ten years, may erupt into something more serious. These are not problems which politicians can solve, even

politicians like Mr. Macmillan, who is said to be the most optimistic prime minister we have. The late Earl Baldwin also had his optimistic moments; he once said:—

If we have not conquered unemployment, we are in process of conquering it, and if there is no great disturbance shall complete its conquest.

Those words were reported in the *Morning Post* of 5th April, 1929, a few months before the great crash.

Despite their failures—and even though their successes are futile—the appeal of the politicians persists. Workers vote for them in their millions with, apparently, hardly a thought for an alternative. They are content to be exploited to keep the capitalist system running, whilst the political parties squabble over the spoils of power. The *Manchester Guardian* of 4th March, 1957, reported Dr. Charles Hill, M.P., a member of the Tory Government, as saying, "... that the most riotous fun he had ever had was in opposition." The Doctor went on to say:—

Then we could make speeches without responsibility and make proposals that hadn't got to be carried out.

Well, Labour have had their fun; if they win the next election the Tories will be waiting to give them the full treatment again. A merry game. Who cares if it's the spectators who always get injured?

IVAN.

Hackney Borough Council Elections

Election Manifesto

WHY WE ARE HERE

THE three candidates of the Socialist Party of Great Britain are entering this election with a viewpoint that is completely opposed to those of the other parties taking part—that viewpoint is one of working-class interests. You may consider that the Labour Party, or even some other party, is concerned with working-class interests, but a brief look at the facts shows that this is not so.

For all its talk of "democracy" and "equality of opportunity," what has the Labour Party ever done for you or for the working-class generally? Did it solve the housing problem? Did you become substantially better-off between 1945 and 1951? Did the threat of war recede? The answer to all these questions must be an emphatic NO! Of course, the record of the Tories is no better.

Why is this so? The answer is a very simple one. Neither of these parties sets out to solve your problems or to

make you better off—what they set out to do, in fact, is to run this social system called capitalism in the only way that it can be run; that is in the interests of your bosses, employers, ruling class, call them what you will.

What then is the basis of this social system? Capitalism means a social organisation where all the means of producing wealth (mines, land, factories, transport and so on) are owned by a small section of the people. That leaves us, the working class, with nothing except our ability to work. And work we must, or else we starve. From the employer's point of view, it is a simple proposition—more for you means less for them, and so they do all that they can to prevent any raising of your living standards. The fraud of inflation carries out this job well, so that wage increases are often nullified by a corresponding rise in the cost of living.

But this isn't our only objection to capitalism. Our bosses are always squabbling with the ruling classes of other countries over the distribution of

the loot, resulting in continual international crises and minor wars, leading sooner or later to major ones.

THE ALTERNATIVE

We say that there is an alternative to this state of affairs—the alternative of Socialism. Socialism means a world where the things of life will be produced solely to satisfy the needs of mankind, instead of for the purpose of realising a profit for your bosses; a world where the whole of humanity will own and control the means of living and where wars and international tension cannot exist; a world where people will no longer be subject to the threat of unemployment and to the perpetual struggle to make ends meet—in short, a world where everyone will freely and equally associate and enjoy all the fruits of their labour.

It may be objected that these are hardly matters which concern local electors, but in fact the problems of local government are the same as those of the national government, only at a lower level. The measures affecting rates, rents, housing, education, etc., are no more than the carrying out of government policy, which means capitalist policy.

HOUSING

ONE of the most pressing questions of local government is the housing problem, and although the Labour and Tory parties talk glibly of the numbers of flats and houses built, the fact remains that to-day's housing problem is as bad as it ever was. At root, the lack of decent accommodation for working people is a part of the working-class poverty problem. If you happen to be well-off, there is no lack of fine houses and flats—at an appropriate price. In other words, workers live in poor houses and flats because they cannot afford anything better, and never will be able to afford anything better as long as they remain members of the working-class.

EDUCATION

EDUCATION, too, under capitalism means the fitting of our children for the tasks required by the social system; in other words, the production of the engineers, clerks, miners and all the other kinds of worker that are essential to capitalism. The present-day bias towards technical education is but a reflection of industry's needs for more and more technical workers. Nothing wrong with that, you might think. But the trouble is that capitalism has no regard for the realisation of a child's potentialities or for educa-

tion in the sense of equipping children for full and happy lives.

RATES AND TAXES

THE problem of rates is another that is much discussed in the council chamber, but basically it is not one that really concerns workers. The whole principle of taxation, national or local, is the levying of a share of the profits for the State, in order that it might efficiently carry out the task of keeping capitalism going. Your wages, generally speaking, are no more than sufficient to keep you and your family going from one pay-day to the next, and this is affected little, if at all, by the raising or lowering of the level of taxation.

We say that all these problems are capitalist problems, which means that they are inseparable from the nature of the society under which we live. All the efforts of the reformers over the years have not altered your basic position one bit. What is required is something far more drastic—a revolutionary change in the nature of society.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

OUR proposition is a simple one. We and people like us (the working-class) not only produce all the wealth but also carry out all the necessary functions to keep society going. The tragedy is that we keep it going for the benefit of a privileged minority. What we suggest is that workers throw

off the domination of the ruling class and organise and run society in their own interests instead of in the interests of their bosses. Then and only then will we see an end to the problems that have beset the working class for so long.

This is a proposition well worth struggling for, hence our participation in this election. Our candidates are here as a protest against capitalism, and to give working people an opportunity of registering their support for the only constructive alternative to capitalism and for the only effective solution to their problems. Every one who joins us in the struggle against this pernicious social system is helping to make the life of capitalism shorter and helping to bring about a sane and rational social order.

Do not think that because there are only three of our candidates in this election, there is no point in supporting us. At least, three socialists in the Town Hall would mean a lot of useful propaganda for socialism and would ensure that there were at least some members of the council who really did represent the working class. In any event, the need for socialism becomes ever more pressing in a world riddled with frightening problems, and a start must be made in wresting power from the ruling class. Every socialist vote means another step towards a freer, better world.

The only Socialist candidates are:—
A. IVIMEY, J. L. READ, F. IVIMEY

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A Reply to Professor Galbraith

An Essay on Historical Materialism

TO read Marx with no thought of criticising him, is bad. To criticise him with no thought of reading him is worse. In the last respect Professor Galbraith, author of *The Affluent Society*, follows a contemporary trend. His summing up of historical materialism is pointed, pithy, and piffling. It is a pity that in economising his phrases he has so gravely economised truth. According to him, Marx held that the economic motive was the prime mover of all individuals' actions. Underneath the trappings of professed ideals lay the core of self-interest. Apparently Marx only repeated the cynical sophistication of the 18th century, of Chesterfield and Walpole.

Yet Professor Galbraith believes that the view he attributes to Marx, is, nevertheless, a great theory, which is a great pity, because if self-interest is the prime motive of an individual's actions and the regulator of his conduct, then it is the businessmen, or at least the American variety who are Marxists. If historical materialism boils down to the assertion that all human activity is ultimately based on an economic motive, which, vide Professor Galbraith, is the American business man's philosophy, then they might echo, with him, "We are all Marxists now." Marxism becomes then a cynical worldly pragmatism. To the activity of humans whose claims are altruistic it asks the leading Marxist question, "What is their gimmick?" Marx, however, never held that self-interest or the economic motive was the prime mover of all social situations. It is not Marx but Professor Galbraith who passes this excoriating judgment on a section of his countrymen—unconsciously, perhaps, the severest thing he says about them in the whole book.

So far from Marx holding that self-interest was the prime mover of history, he denied that personal motivation could account for historic development.

It is true that Adam Smith, who besides being an economist was a moral philosopher, also believed that the economic motive was the driving force of individual activity. But he at least believed that Providence had planned self-interest in such a way that each individual in seeking his own advantage was led by "an invisible hand" to promote an end which was no part of his intention. And so while his own efforts benefited himself they also benefited others—the community. This was an anticipation of Bentham's utilitarianism summed up as "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," via enlightened self-interest. It is also the nearest thing the Labour Party has in the way of an official philosophy.

It would also seem, according to Professor Galbraith, that if not all Marxists are business men all simply cannot explain history in terms of individual activity based on personal motives. The range of personal motives are too enormous and complex, even for the individual himself, to constitute reliable data for establishing valid and

objective historical conclusions. That is why Karl Popper and the school of anti-historicists who interpret history in terms of personal motives, declare in effect that History and mystery are synonymous terms.

It is true generically speaking that man makes history. It is not true that the individual man makes his own history. In fact, Marx is not interested in what the individual man does or does not make. Marx was concerned with the behaviour of social groups or classes and of the individual in so far that he is a member of a particular class. And since the passing of primitive society, all history has been the history of class struggle. Marx asked the question: what are the conditions which bring about this? How and why do class struggles occur and what effect it does this have on the behaviour of individuals who form these classes? Marx offers an historical principle which is empirical and verifiable, and proceeds via the mode of economic production.

Men are constantly improving the tools and instruments of production, whereby they obtain their living. The emergence of new productive forces will bring advantages which will be attempted to be utilised by the existing ruling class for their own interests. A new class which is associated with and has title to these new productive forces will, in seeking to expand them along the lines of their own interests, find themselves hampered by the political and property relations which constitute the older form of economic production. The new class which has economic power must gain political power in order to effect a change in the social organisation which makes possible the control and development of economic power. An acute class opposition of interests results between the old ruling class and the new rising class. Unless the classes go down in a common ruin as the result of class conflict, victory comes to the new class with economic power, who fight for a form of social organisation which is in line with the changes in the mode of production and thereby permits the freeing and expansion of the productive forces. Sometimes these class struggles are rapid and violent, sometimes slow, and compromises take place between the contending factions. But all class struggles centre around the ownership of the means of production and the power which such ownership gives.

It does not follow, however, that individuals as such are necessarily motivated by purely economic considerations. What does matter is that their common interests and common activity do produce an overall effect, even though this overall effect differs from what each individual of a particular class had anticipated. It is the permanent and pervasive pressure of their needs arising from their class interests which makes itself felt in the final outcome of their total activity.

The outcome and consequences then of class activity are not then necessarily deducible from the individual

motives of those who constitute a particular class. As Engels points out, whatever may be the different wills and motives of individuals composing a class, in the aggregate they offset each other, or are compensated for by other variations. Thus Marxism does not maintain that Capitalists, as individuals, move along a direct path of self interest, in which all others are merely the subject matter for their personal advantage and gain. Some may, but it does not necessarily follow that all or even the majority act in this way. The individual Capitalist may be a good father, a good husband, a regular church goer, and may want to do the best he can by those he employs. His actions are limited, however, by a set of objective conditions to which he must conform or cease to be a Capitalist, i.e. he must appropriate surplus value. In short, his own actions are regulated by the interests of the class to whom he belongs and it is upon and through this class that his own status and privilege is preserved. Without the power of this class he is, as an individual, helpless.

It is true that the ruling ideas of a social order can only become effective if they serve the interests of the ruling social group. These ideas, however, express themselves in a set of volitions and attitudes which develop into systematised or institutionalised ideas—an ideology. This ideology seeks to preserve the conditions upon which economic privilege rests. In every epoch, wrote Marx, "the ruling ideas have been the ideas of the ruling class."

To understand the activities of men we must understand the society in which they live, the values, habits, traditions and the complex of institutions which make up their culture. It is true that the ideology arising from a particular set of class interests is refracted by the prism of class needs and turned upside down and is expressed as

"the Common Interest, "a Way of Life," or "the General Will," and it is accepted by all classes until such time as the exploited class grows to self conscious maturity of its own needs.

The Capitalists accept their system as the natural and eternal order of things powerfully reinforced as they are by the ideological assumptions which are an essential part of their culture. Just as the slave owner, no matter how kindly he may have felt towards his slaves, considered slavery as a natural order of things. He would have been horrified at the idea of abolition of slavery. No doubt the Capitalist today considers that slavery was a horrible thing, he, however is horrified at the idea of abolishing Capitalism.

What then forms the complex of class behaviour and activity from the Marxist standpoint is a far cry from the assumption that Marx held that the dynamic of society was individual motivation whereby each individual pursued a line of self interest. Less than any man did Marx make the motive of the individual as such, the outcome of social evolution and nothing is falser than to attribute to him some sort of sordid psychology of selfish motivation.

Marx's great insight was to show that humans could not only change conditions but change themselves in the process. He wanted to do away with a social system where neither buyer nor seller is free, and replace it by a set of human conditions, "In which the free development of all is the condition for the free development of each." He remains one of the great humanists of history.

The pity about Professor Galbraith is not that he has so much to learn from Marx, but that he has so much to unlearn.

E. W.

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Letters

Our last Annual Conference decided that a section of the SOCIALIST STANDARD be reserved for letters from readers as a regular feature. Readers are invited to send letters of comment and criticism and questions for answer. Letters should be kept as short as possible as space is limited, and the shorter the letters the larger the number that can be printed.

Publication Date

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

OFFICIAL NOTICES

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

The General Election

The SOCIALIST PARTY needs money urgently for the General Election.

In East London our members have already been working for months, preparing an all out campaign in the Bethnal Green constituency. Meetings are being held, canvassers are going from door to door, the local papers are advertising our activities.

This work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

We have great hopes for this campaign. Last year's L.C.C. elections in the same area gave the encouragement we needed. This time we believe we can achieve still more for the Socialist cause in this constituency.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
MACaulay 3811

MAY 1959

Socialists and Day to Day Politics

OTHER political parties are forever proclaiming their support for or opposition to some new proposal for changing the law. This is what day to day politics are made up of, and it is round these issues that elections are won and lost. The Socialist Party is unique in standing aside from that kind of contest. We fight elections solely on the demand for Socialism. We do not campaign for or declare our support of schemes of reform. We do not struggle to get this or that law amended or to prevent it from being amended.

Some workers who do not understand the Socialist case think that the Socialist Party's attitude to reforms means standing aloof from the workers' struggles. They are quite mistaken. It is a question of the Socialist being concerned with a different struggle, the fundamental struggle that has as its aim the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The two aims cannot be combined. In order to achieve Socialism it is necessary to win over the workers of all countries to a recognition of the uselessness of trying to solve their problems by modifying Capitalism. What conviction would that message carry if the Party that preached it was at the same time telling the workers to postpone the idea of working for Socialism and devote themselves to working for reforms? Fifty years of Labour Party work for reforms has not brought Socialism one day nearer.

There is also a basically false idea behind working for reforms, the idea of rallying the supporters of Capitalism behind a proposal to reform Capitalism. To the Socialist, Capitalism is a class-divided social system; on the top side the owners of wealth and the means of producing and distributing wealth and under them the working class who produce the wealth. Any improvement that the working class may get under Capitalism they get at the expense of the propertied class.

The propertied class know this, hence their unceasing resistance to claims for higher wages; and every government knows this when it presses, as every government does, for "wage restraint."

One factor there is that will move the propertied class to surrender some of their wealth. This factor is the growth of the Socialist movement. The Capitalists do not for long fear the leaders of reformist movements—they have been digesting them for generations. But when the Socialist movement grows in numbers, threatening the Capitalist class with the coming end of Capitalism, then the Capitalists will be anxious to make reform concessions, designed to gain a further lease of life for Capitalism by trying to entice the workers away from the Socialist movement. Paradoxical though it may seem to those who do not understand Capitalism, the policy of the Socialist, of standing uncompromisingly for Socialism, would incidentally induce the Capitalists to offer reforms, though their hope of thereby stopping the development of the Socialist movement would be an empty one.

Fifty Years Ago

MAY-DAY

THE First of May is round once again, but, unfortunately, the wage-workers are not yet ready for the great demonstration which shall demonstrate, not the workers' disunion and lack of class-consciousness, as do those of to-day, but their irresistible might and determination to strike, once and for all, the shackles from off their limbs, and to annihilate the oppressor. However, with May come some sunny days, the tender freshness of young leaves and—the outdoor propaganda season in full swing. Verily Spring is a mighty ally of Hope, and your true Socialist, while rarely forgetting the ever-present horrors of capitalism, appreciates no less than his as yet non-Socialist fellow, the brightening ray and thrill of nature newly waken'd.

To us its chief meaning is renewed opportunity for work in order that next May-Day may see us measurably nearer our goal; well on the way toward our demonstration—the only one worthy of working-class attention, the Social Revolution.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD.
May 1909.

The Background

Turmoil in Tibet

THE rebellion in Tibet, its draconian suppression, and the escape of the Dalai Lama, have exploded like a star-shell to illuminate a world in the Iron Curtain's dark shadow. Events in Tibet have been compared with the recent suppression in Hungary and while there is a resemblance, both revolts and the backgrounds have been reported everywhere befogged with misunderstanding or misrepresentation by people who do not seem to have a clue as to what the factors are that make society tick.

A Britisher says his piece

Mr. Hugh Richardson, the last British representative as Officer-in-Charge of the British Mission in Lhasa from 1947-1950 writing in *The Observer*, 5th April, 1959, gave a sincere, emotional, but woolly-headed review of the happenings and the historical background there. He said that the benefits of science conferred by the Chinese were illusory to the Tibetans when compared with the freedom to retain their old customs. He also naively berated Mr. Nehru for the part he played, "There is still no word from him of condemnation of the use of force beyond anything that an internal affair could warrant. Is such circumspection necessary or honourable?" He also makes out a case against the Chinese invasion on grounds of pure illegality.

Because Tibet has been off the beaten track of world trade, surrounded by land and without any ports conveniently available, she has been left severely alone by the great Capitalist groupings of the world whose main basis of transport is the steamship. Trade with Tibet had to be carried on with the aid of caravans for moving the merchandise, and this obsolete method renders out of the question cash crops and mining ventures, two of the great standbys of this profit-making age.

But there is a certain amount of trade with the contiguous countries, and this is to a large extent in the hands of the Tibetan nobles who, unlike the British aristocrats of last century, do not consider indulging in trade to be beneath them.

Tibet entered the Twentieth Century committed by the leanings of its ruling theocracy towards isolationism, and straining to get rid of its vassalage to Peking. The nobles wish to keep all of the profits of exploitation. The Tibetan ruling class is closely supported by the princes of the Buddhist church, who co-operate to preserve a subject-class docile, and amenable to the demands of their masters. Marx was by no means the first to realise that religion is the opiate of the people! Both British and Russian governments at that time had ambitions which extended to Tibet. But Prime Minister Arthur J. Balfour stated the British case simply, "It would be a serious misfortune to the Indian Government and a danger to our northern frontier, should Tibet fall under any

European influence other than our own" (*Eastern World*, December, 1956).

Tibet, a weak country, was but a pawn in the game of power politics then, as in the present fracas.

Would the Chinese Nationalists act the same?

Chiang Kai-shek, the discredited Nationalist from his retreat in Formosa, criticised the Chinese government for their part in the affair and promised the Tibetans his support. He also proposed to organise an airlift, but the Tibetans, though they have not studied the Bible, probably know better than to lean upon a broken reed. Both the "Communist" and the Nationalist governments of China act on behalf of Chinese Capitalism. The "Communist" government of China has taken over from the Nationalists the map of China showing Tibet as being included within the country's boundaries.

But the tongue-in-cheek protestations of Chiang Kai-shek ring hollow to those who remember his activities in 1950, when the Chinese "liberated" Tibet. Lhasa's appeal of November 7th, 1950, to the United Nations for help against "the armed invasion of Tibet for the incorporation of Tibet within the fold of Chinese Communism, was presented in the United Nations, as a resolution by El Salvador. The Chiang Kai-shek delegate from Formosa opposed entering the item on the agenda on the challengeable grounds that Tibet had been part of China for 700 years." In fact, as hollow as the sympathy for Tibet expressed by the press both here and in America, Chiang Kai-shek was allowed to have his way: neither Britain nor the United States rose to make an issue of the Tibetan nobles' right to self-determination, i.e., the right of the Tibet ruling-class to exploit the subjugated and keep the loot all to themselves. Apparent good intentions on the part of ruling-classes, when probed in the light of Socialist knowledge, so frequently appear as having economic motives. Whenever principles conflict with self-interests it seems as though it is always the principles that are jettisoned. The right to self-determination becomes the right to exploit: a rose by another name! The Tibetan government, standing alone, was forced in May, 1951, to submit to "Peaceful Liberation," otherwise known as invasion and subjugation.

"Liberations"

The "liberation" of Tibet by the so-called Communist government of China in 1950-1 was by no means the first time that the country has seen invaders. The first Gurkha invasion from the south was in 1788, but in 1792 the Chinese government despatched an army of both Tibetans and Chinese under Chinese leadership and in the arctic cold of winter forced the Gurkhas to retire. The Chinese closed the frontier, but in 1841 an invading force from

Kashmir were almost exterminated by the Tibetans. A Gurkha invasion of 1855 opened the country up to trade with the Indian sub-continent which was then governed by the British.

But Tibet, long regarded romantically by Europeans as the Land of the Lamas, is of strategic importance in the virtually New World that is Asia, and the country can be compared there much in the same way as control of the Middle East is regarded as vital by Western interests. Fairly recent events surely underline the truth of this contention. But Tibet no longer acts as a buffer zone; instead, it constitutes a forward area for Chinese penetration into South Asia.

Missiles from the Roof of the World

The Chinese are constructing airfields in Tibet. The Tibetan plateau of 12,000 foot altitude provides, in this age of jet bombers, an air base unique in the world. Calcutta is only about 550 miles from Lhasa. According to a report in the *Eastern World*, December, 1956, north of Tibet, through Kansu and Sinkiang, work is progressing on the Lanchow-Urumchi Railway, scheduled for completion (with a link to the Soviet Turk-Siberian Railway) in 1960. In August, 1956, Georgi Pokrovsky, a Soviet natural scientist, in a magazine article, proposed the construction of a Trans-Himalayan railway running from the Soviet Union across Sinkiang to Kashmir and on to Delhi, thus connecting the Soviet Union, China and India by rail.

Those are all tremendous undertakings, and some of them are only projects for the future. But it is to the future that Peking and Moscow are looking, and the blueprints fit together. And in that context Tibet is being developed as a base from which China would be enabled to manoeuvre. For land power, not sea power, dominates Asia. Tibet thus becomes a factor in world strategy.

China and Tibet

Most of the 4,500,000 Tibetans actually live within the confines of China in the areas bordering on Tibet. Only about 1,000,000 live in Tibet proper, under political allegiance to Lhasa. Their social classification is roughly: 50,000 nobles and merchants, 150,000 monks, 800,000 serfs. About one-seventh of the population is in the monasteries—more than one man in four. Those who are not in the church have mostly swallowed the religious bait, hook, line and sinker, and live in subjection to the nobles. They live, imprisoned by the ties of their religious convictions.

A Reuters report published in the *Far Eastern Review* (November 1952) on developments in Tibet describes how the Chinese, using the Tibetan ruling-class governmental control of the population, are developing the country. As a reprisal for the Chinese occupation, the U.S.A., who are the main buyers of the wool crop (the chief item of export to the outside world), stopped purchases, in conformity with their policy of no trade with Communist countries. This brought about a minor crisis among the Tibet traders, but the Chinese met it by buying about

4 million pounds of wool for the China home market. While the Tibetan ruling-class co-operate with the Chinese government and the latter rally to their aid in time of trouble, it is only those who believe the State Capitalism of China is really Communism, that would consider these two groups to be other than two of a kind.

Industrialisation goes on apace

Many factories, including an automatic repair plant, an iron works, bricks and tiles plants, saw mills, and a chemical plant, are now in operation. Hydro-electric or steam power stations have been built in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo. Many Tibetan homes which once used yak-butter lamps or had no illumination at night at all, are today using electric light. Over 4,000 miles of motor roads have been constructed and many bridges built; some of them are remarkable feats of engineering skill. These roads link up all the major cities and towns and the principal agricultural, pastoral and handicraft areas which seven years ago were solely dependent on yak, horse and donkey caravans for the transportation of goods. They also connect Tibet with Chinghai, Sinkiang, Szechwan and other parts of China. A passenger air service is now running between Lhasa and Peking. Several airfields have been constructed both for civil and military aviation. Many towns and settlements have sprung up along the newly built highways. Nagchuka, a point along the Chinghai-Tibet highway where there were only a few cottages and tents before, today has become a town with banking, postal and telegraph, trading and health services. A free primary school has also been opened. New dwellings in great numbers have been added in Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo and Gynagtsse. Industrial activities have given Lhasa a modern look. Its uninhabited northern outskirts are now dotted with factories and living quarters.

More than 500 species of farm crops and vegetables have been successfully cultivated by the three agricultural experimental farms located on the high Tibetan plateau. Corn has been grown in Shigatse, nearly 12,000 feet above the sea level. Tibetans are being helped by Chinese workers to develop agriculture and livestock breeding. There are now about 80 primary schools attended by more than 6,000 pupils. Last year the first secondary school was opened. Students are given free board, clothing and books. During their study period they get pocket money. There are now three well-equipped general hospitals and several smaller hospitals and clinics in Tibet. About 4,000 Tibetans are now studying in higher institutions in Peking and other cities of China. More Tibetans are being trained locally and in China as doctors, nurses, teachers, radio-operators, tractor drivers and skilled workers.

The China-gear economic revolution is gradually creating a new social consciousness. Radio, newspapers and cinema are gradually breaking the long-standing barrier of backwardness.

But it must not be thought that China is acting from purely altruistic motives. Tibet is rich in a range of minerals, including uranium—the raw material of atomic power and atomic bombs—according to Chinese surveys.

China is doing a very commendable job in improving the economic conditions of Tibet. Industries are being developed, agricultural reorganisation is being carried out, the transportation and communication system is being rapidly extended, illiteracy is being removed and health improved, and, above all, mineral surveys are being conducted to utilise vast untapped resources. So far the surveys have revealed that there are more than 30 kinds of mineral resources of industrial value in Tibet. Besides precious metals, coal and iron, Tibet is said to be rich in uranium. There is no doubt that preliminary exploitation of Tibetan mineral resources will be undertaken before 1962. When the envisaged industrial revolution takes place Tibet will become an important economic unit of China. Already it has been established that about two-thirds of the northern Tibetan plateau is very good cattle grazing ground. Hence plans are afoot to make the area China's major livestock breeding zone in the future. Specially picked Chinese families are being settled in Tibet to help the projected

industrialisation of the region and to render smooth the Sino-Tibetan racial unification. The region therefore has become a reservoir for Chinese settlers. Tibet, which has an area of about 12.3 per cent. of that of China, has a total population of only about 1,200,000.

—*Eastern World*, August, 1958.

Chinese in Mongolia—a foretaste of happenings in Tibet

Mongolia bordering China in the north has already experienced a full-dress rehearsal of what is now taking place in Tibet. The former country, also remote, with a lama dominated population, has already had a taste of "liberation," Chinese style. Mongolia, a vast country dominated by its cattle baron aristocracy, who look askance at the teeming Chinese settlers. As in Tibet, some are engaged in mining. The coal deposits there, for instance, are estimated at 2,000 million tons. Chinese agriculturalists are swarming in, turning the ancient open pasture lands into farms. Mass trials of Mongolians and killing off the disaffected have been the order of the day, and make a mockery of Article 72 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China dealing with the protection of minorities.

In Mongolia as in Tibet when economic motives beckon, all other considerations have to give way, and the Chinese government behave like any old-time colonial power, except that they falsely act in the name of Communism.

Who are the transgressors in Tibet?

The Chinese authorities, probably feeling more secure in their grip of Tibet, and therefore more independent of the services of the Tibetan ruling-clique, had begun clamping on taxes, especially on the monasteries, which have tremendous influence, and had never before been taxed. The Tibetan court, steeped in traditional ways of thought, probably found that a conversion of their feudal economy, almost overnight, into a colonial appendage of a Capitalist power, was a bit too much to stomach, and that they could no longer co-operate, and so they went whilst they still had the chance to get away.

The Dalai Lama and his retinue has been reported as having crossed the Indian frontier, no doubt with heavy hearts, but also with a caravan loaded with gold and jewels. Moreover, it appears that the contents of his palace, reported as having been looted, are insured in India for a vast sum. The Indian government are considering whether they will allow him to build a palace there. Whilst the Dalai Lama may feel miserable he will, apparently, at least be able to be miserable in comfort.

But what is the lot of those who have been left behind? Newspapers report that practically all the young able-bodied men in Lhasa have been separated from their families and driven off by the Chinese apparently to forced labour camps. The Chinese appear to be trying to close the frontier, when, liquidation, a euphemism for extermination, will become the order of the day. The sum total of human suffering there mounts up. Once again, there is a resemblance between the fairly recent events in Hungary, in the plight of the refugees, who, for the moment, are fleeing across the frontiers. Once again, there is a break-up of families and the horror of both young and old at being uprooted and driven out, but this is an almost continuous process in a class-dominated society. The Tibetan refugees now join the grim procession: before them the Dutch from Indonesia, the Hungarians, the 900,000 Arab refugees in the Middle East, the Muslims who fled from India, the Hindus from Pakistan and the continuous stream from East Germany. This column of spectres will go on, it seems, while Capitalism lasts.

The trouble in Tibet is a revolt of the feudal rulers against the imposed rule of State-Capitalist China—these are the transgressors in Tibet. Whichever side wins, the underprivileged on either side will still continue to be exploited, even though serfs become wage-slaves. Tibet compares with Hungary in that, once again, it is a quarrel between ruling-cliques and is not worth the shedding of one drop of workers' blood on either side.

F. OFFORD.

'The Passing Show' continued from page 77
of 1917—*In Flanders Fields* (Longmans, Green, 25s) by Leon Wolff. One attack went on for weeks, "some positions changing hands eighteen times. When the attack finally petered out, Haig had gained a few hundred yards of shell-torn country, and lost 74,000 British and French casualties" (*Everybody's*, 28-2-59). The same kind of thing happened day after day: "On September 20, the British line was pushed forward half a mile, and 22,000 men were killed or injured. September 26: 1,000 yards were gained, and 17,000 men lost. October 4: 700 yards gained, and 26,000 men lost. . . . On

October 9, the attack was aimed at Passchendaele. . . . Thirteen thousand allied soldiers were killed and injured that day, with no ground gained. Haig wrote in his diary: 'The results were very successful.'"

In four months, nearly half a million men were killed or injured, to gain about four miles of ground. British capitalism won that war. But what a price in blood the British working class had to pay for its masters' victory.

MON REPOS

BUT enough of the dark side of our society. Every day the newspapers

report some further instance of progress. In *The Times* (12-2-59) we are told of an improved prison cell. The old cell was usually about 7 ft. by 13 ft. At Everthorpe, a prison opened last year, the cells are 7 ft. by 10 ft.; now, the new "Butler" cell (which the Home Secretary helped to design) is 7 ft. 1 in. by 8 ft. 3 in. *The Times* special correspondent looked it over. "The effect," he said approvingly, "is of greater snugness."

It would be interesting to hear his opinion of the "snugness" of these holes after he had spent, say three years, in one of them.

ALWYN EDGAR.

The Passing Show

THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE

THE Conservative papers are filled with complaints about the money lost by nationalised industries. Do not—they adjure the voters—let the Labour Party in again, or "the dead hand of State control" will descend on more industries. But such complaints miss the mark.

Those who held shares in the coal-mines and the railways faced a bleak prospect in 1945: a prospect of many years without a penny of interest on their holdings, while the coalmines and the railways recovered from the pre-war years of insufficient capital investment, and from the war itself. But just in time these maidens in distress were rescued from the terrible calamity of having to rub along without the surplus value extracted from the coalminers and the railwaymen. The knight-errant was to some of them perhaps unexpected: the Labour Party. Attlee won the election, formed his government, and put the mines and railways under boards whose duty was to pay out interest each year (in "compensation" for industries which no one in his senses would have thought of buying) amounting to £14 million for the coal shareholders and £40 million for the rail shareholders. (Both these figures have since increased.)

PROFIT TO BE MADE

This explains, of course, why the Conservatives, in power for nearly eight years, have left the State ownership of these industries untouched. But some of our private enterprisers are worried at the thought that even in these run-down and out-of-date industries there may yet lurk unexploited pockets of potential gain. An article in the *Sunday Express* on March 29th concedes that "no financier or industrialist in his right mind" would touch much of the railways. But the writer of the article is not discouraged. "Profit," he says, "has not been entirely eliminated. Even in their present condition, the Transport Commission's hotels, buffets, docks and ships would make a sound investment.

. . . They should be the first to be hived off to private enterprise." Later on, he thinks, one of the railway networks themselves should be handed back to a private company. Realising that this suggestion might cause heart-failure to some railway shareholders, he adds hastily that in the first few years, the "free enterprise railway" might need loans from the State, plus a guaranteed "minimum dividend to investors for a period." Later still, he hopes, the rest of the railways "would also become qualified" (i.e. profitable enough) "for handing back to private enterprise."

SAFETY NET

IN other words, nationalisation is a device to take the risk out of some capitalist industries—for investors. If they allow the industries they own to fall behind the times, through not devoting sufficient funds to re-equipment, the State representing the capitalist class as a whole will step in and modernise their industries for them, paying them a guaranteed minimum of interest while it does so. And then, when the job is done, they can always demand that the industries concerned be "returned to private enterprise," so as to turn the screw on the workers in them and jump up their dividends once more.

These proceedings are dressed up in a lot of long words and fancy phrases. But, stripped of verbiage, it can be summed up in the formula which has been the motto of the confidence trickster throughout the ages: Heads I win, tails you lose.

STILL MORE

ACCORDING to a book written by Clive Jenkins—*Power at the Top* (Macgibbon and Kee, 21s)—nationalisation has still more advantages for the capitalists. He says that "the industries may theoretically be owned by the people, but they are largely operated by the representatives of private enterprise in the interests of private enterprise" (*Reynolds News*, 22-3-59). Mr. Jenkins "shows how the dominant figures" on the State boards, "through interlocking directorships in

private firms, are in close business and personal relationships with Britain's industrial and financial oligarchy." He maintains that the capitalists have made good use of public ownership, and "instances below-cost coal supplied to industry, excessively cheap gas, electricity and freight services, and the way lucrative services have been taken away from nationalised airlines." Aneurin Bevan himself is quoted as saying in 1956—"Perhaps it is time we took the nationalised industries into public ownership?" This, from one of the leaders of the Labour Party, is an extraordinary confession of failure. No doubt he contemplates another variation on the State capitalist theme. But what must be done is to reject the variations and the theme together, and work for a Socialist society.

THE HORSE'S MOUTH

WHEN capitalism is at last thrown into the dustbin of history, how many crowded cemeteries will remain as its memorials! You have heard often enough from Socialists about the bloody hands of capitalism, about the wars fought because each capitalist struggles for strategically-placed colonies, for sources of raw materials: but leading supporters of capitalism are themselves often as frank. M. Soustelle, one of the leaders of the movement which overthrew France's Fourth Republic and placed General de Gaulle in power, says that France must keep Algeria "because he who possesses this strategic springboard controls the Western Mediterranean . . . because Algeria means the Sahara and the Sahara means oil. . . . That is why France must make sure of retaining free access to the Sahara and prevent it from falling under any other than French sovereignty" (*Manchester Guardian* 19-3-59). In the last four years in Algeria, 1,500 French civilians and 80,000 Algerians have lost their lives in the fighting: but France must stay in Algeria, because of its strategic position and because of its oil. No Socialist could put the facts more damningly than M. Soustelle has done.

VERY SUCCESSFUL

BLOOD is the main by-product of capitalism: Recently a book was published about the Flanders offensive

continued on bottom of previous page

The Aldermaston March

THE arrival of the second Aldermaston March in London on Easter Monday was a grand opportunity for the Party to make itself felt—and it did! The awakening political interest in this country, which was briefly indicated at the time of Suez, is bringing many young bewildered people into the political arena for the first time. Their rallying point, at the moment, is the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Encouraged by our successful and inspiring Annual Conference, during the preceeding three days, an impressive body of Party members reported at midday to the Party Literature Depot that had been set up in a comrade's car by the Albert Memorial. This was the last halt for the many thousands of marchers prior to their final "assault" on Trafalgar Square. Over Conference week-end, both Paddington and Wood Green Branches had prepared leaflets specially for the occasion. One dealt with the futility of the Campaign in general. The other concerned the controversy within the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament as to whether or not they should withhold their votes from parliamentary candidates who do not promise beforehand to oppose the British manufacture of nuclear weapons, once elected.

Interest in our leaflets was so great that the Party Organiser and a few other comrades went back to Head Office to roll off another 2,000. In all 5,000 leaflets were distributed during the day. Once the March was on the move again the literature depot was set up, this time near to the Square.

Thirty-three comrades drew supplies of literature from the depot but a number of others helped too, so that everywhere you looked the SOCIALIST STANDARD and the pamphlet on *War* were to be seen. Sales were remarkably good—234 STANDARDS and over 160 *War* pamphlets—getting on for £15 worth, and these figures do not include a certain amount of literature that had been brought along by individual members.

A most heartening aspect of the

day's effort was the number of provincial comrades who were doing their bit. Obviously enjoying the feel of an all-out Party effort were members from Bradford, Manchester, Newport and Nottingham and, as was to be expected, nearly all the London area Branches were represented. Specially noteworthy were the high sales recorded by a Manchester comrade and the number of accepted challenges to debate issued by the Newport Group secretary.

As for assessing our impact, it was noticeable how many more people than last year were prepared to accept the Socialist contention that the real problem is the continued existence of war-prone Capitalist Society and not the nature of current weapons.

PADDINGTON BRANCH.

The following was distributed as a leaflet during the March:

A point of view

"... We march in hope. We are building the foundations of a better, saner future, free not only from the horror and cruelty of our time but also its blindness, double-talk and unreason." (Tribune, 27 March 59.)

If only this were true, how worthwhile this large and impressive march from Aldermaston would be! After your four days on the road, our view of the Campaign may not be popular but it must be put. We hold that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is on an unsound basis and inevitably leads in the wrong direction.

The Campaign fails because it is not concerned with removing the cause of war. In opposing "The Bomb" to the exclusion of everything else, the effect is to oppose neither bombs nor war.

... One year of ceaseless activity: Aldermaston, last Easter—Mass Lobby in June—Direct Action at Swaffham in December. Hundreds of thousands have heard your appeal to ban the

Hydrogen Bomb, but have you made any impression on the present Government? And do you really believe another Labour Government would be any better?

The truth must be faced. Over these practical questions the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is rent with dissension.

A large body of the Campaign is working for the return of a Labour Government. How futile! The Labour Party is committed to war and the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

An active minority is advocating "direct action" and is trying to persuade people not to vote for any candidate who does not oppose the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Put to the test, Labour as well as the Conservatives will manufacture and possibly use the Hydrogen Bomb. The supporters of "direct action" sense this without understanding why and their methods, the outcome of despair, are a repudiation of democracy.

The Hydrogen Bomb is a monstrous thing. We say war in any form is monstrous!

The risk of nuclear weapons is inseparable from war, and war is inseparable from the way human society is organised today. The world we live in is dominated by the private ownership of the means of life, production for sale and profit, and by economic competition. The struggle between governments represents the rivalry of capitalist ruling groups—a struggle that continually threatens mankind with war.

Russia, with its state-controlled capitalism, is no less involved in this sordid business than are the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Socialists want to abolish capitalism and to replace private ownership by common ownership. Socialists want a world in which the privilege of a few to monopolise wealth can be replaced by production of goods and services solely to satisfy human needs.

Socialists want a world in which "Community," "Co-operation" and "Peace" can become realities not hollow slogans.

Effective opposition to the Hydrogen Bomb demands opposition to the whole monstrosity of war.

Opposition to war demands opposition to capitalism.

Opposition to capitalism demands working for the re-organisation of human society—for socialism.



News from the Branches

CONFERENCE, 1959

THE Comrades who were fortunate enough to attend the Annual Conference this year must have been heartened by the enthusiasm and interest apparent throughout the discussions, and most certainly all enjoyed the social arrangements. There was a good delegation in number and the contributions made by the delegates were interesting and useful. For the first time in the history of the Party two delegates from Canada were present, Comrades Greta and Jim Milne from Winnipeg. Needless to say, it is hoped that these Comrades are the first of many Companion Parties' delegates to attend our Conferences and we look forward also to the sending of delegates regularly to America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The Agenda was completed and recommendations have been referred to the E.C. for consideration, most of them dealing with the expansion and improvement of Party propaganda.

The Social side of the Conference was excellent. On the Friday a get-together evening was held at Head Office, and the Dance at Conway Hall on the Saturday was even jollier than last year and from the financial aspect a credit balance of £29 was reported. A Rally of mainly Party Comrades was held at Conway Hall on the Sunday evening to round off the week-end. Comrades R. Critchfield and H. Young spoke on Darwin and Marx, and tape recordings were relayed of greetings from the Companion Parties in Canada, U.S.A., Australia, and New Zealand and our Comrades in Vienna.

CAMBERWELL BRANCH

CAMBERWELL Branch, in addition to organising three weekly outdoor meetings, East Street and Clapham Common on Sundays, and Rushcroft Road on Saturdays, is still canvassing the *Socialist Standard* every week. The Branch hopes to extend this activity. Currently, one branch meeting each month is being devoted to a lecture-

discussion. These meetings have been very interesting, the most recent was given by Comrade Coster who spoke on Marx and Darwin. This stimulated a good discussion by Branch members. On May 11th a discussion in the form of a debate is being held by Comrades Baldwin and Michael, the idea being that it will help Comrades to learn the art of debate. Details of this event are shown in the Meetings column.

MITCHAM GROUP

SINCE the beginning of the year, this Group has had a more centrally situated meeting place, namely a room in the "White Hart" at Mitcham Cricket Green. Regular, well attended lecture discussion meetings have been held once a month on Tuesdays. A report of Branch meetings has been sent to the local paper and an extract of "what the speaker said" has usually been published. These notices which have always included the full and correct name of the Party, plus the several letters by Party members printed in the correspondence columns, have been useful in letting people know of the S.P.G.B.'s activity. Already the Group has served to bring some Central Branch members into touch with one another, and provided an opportunity for them to air their views on the general subjects discussed. With a few more Central Branch members attending, the Group could function as a Branch and thereby provide an opportunity for members in this area to more effectively express themselves on Party matters. Meanwhile, the Group is going ahead with its Summer programme of meetings and literature selling in an endeavour to increase its membership in the district.

EALING

THE Branch's first effort at holding a Film Show proved to be a great success. The subject was "Automation" and Comrade Hardy gave the accompanying talk, followed as usual

by questions and discussion. There was an audience of thirty, and a very good collection of two pounds was taken. This will certainly be the first of many such shows.

The Branch has decided to have a thousand each printed of a short introductory leaflet to the Party's pamphlets *Russia Since 1917* and *War*. These will be distributed to readers of the S.S. and will be followed up by canvassing of the pamphlets concerned.

Canvassing activity is still continuing, and new areas are being opened up. At present, efforts are being concentrated on the Wembley area and encouraging results have so far been reported. Paddington Branch have requested that we assist them with a canvass in their area and we have agreed to give them as much help as we can.

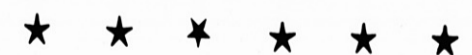
Arrangements are being made for a further series of lectures to be given by Party members during the next few months. Details will be announced later.

Members are asked to note that the annual Branch outing will be on 13th June to Eastbourne. They are asked to notify the Secretary as soon as possible of the number of seats they will require.

NOTTINGHAM

COMMENCING on May Day, Sunday, May 3rd, speakers are going from London every week for propaganda meetings in Nottingham. It is hoped that most speakers will be able to get there on Saturday evenings in time for a meeting on arrival, followed by Sunday morning and evening meetings. These arrangements of course will depend on the travelling times from London. A debate is being organised and details are shown under "Meetings" in this issue.

P. H.



ISLINGTON BRANCH

Social & Dance

Saturday, 23 May, 7 p.m.

Co-op Hall, 179 Seven Sisters Rd., N.7

Live Music by Joe's Group

Admission 2/6 (including refreshments)

MEETINGS

MAY DAY RALLIES, SUNDAY, 3rd MAY,
Hyde Park 2.30-6 p.m.: *Darcy, May, Willmott, Young.*

Denison House, 7 p.m.
"Socialism is International"
Grant, Mostyn, Lake.

East Street 11 a.m., Clapham Common 3.30 p.m.
Durdham Downs, Bristol 6 p.m.

GLASGOW

Queen's Park Recreation Green 3 p.m.: *Shaw, Donnelly*
St. Andrews Hall (mid hall) Door G 7.30 p.m.
May Day Rally
E. Darroch, J. Higgins, R. Vallor (Chairman)

DEBATE WITH ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Sunday, 10th May, 2.30 p.m.
Co-op. Education Centre, Broad Street, Nottingham.
"Socialism or Social Catholicism?"
for SPGB—*R. Coster.*
for RC—*Father B. Rickard (Headmaster of Beckett School).*

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Public Meetings, Co-op Hall, 197 Mare Street, E.8,
Mondays, May 4th and June 15th 8 p.m.
(for details page 69)

MITCHAM LECTURE

Tuesday, 19th May, 8 p.m.
White Hart Hotel, Mitcham Cricket Green.
"Socialism World Wide." *C. May.*

DISCUSSIONS

Monday, 11th May, 8 p.m.
Camberwell Branch, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.
"U.N.O. or Socialism." *H. Baldwin and Michael.*
Thursday, 28th May, 8 p.m., Fulham & Chelsea Branch.
Wilcox, 668, Fulham Road, S.W.6 (near Munster Road).
"William Morris Debunked?" *F. Offord.*

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	May 3rd, 10th and 31st	11 a.m.
	May 17th and 24th	12.30 p.m.
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill	12.30-2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road (from 3rd June)	8 p.m.
Fridays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.
	(alternate weeks from 13th June)	

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings,
Sunday mornings and evenings.

Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon.
Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence: Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (May 7 and 21) in month 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. Fridays, 8 p.m. sharp, Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (May 8th) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (May 7 and 21) in month 8 p.m., Wilcox, 668 Fulham Road, S.W.6 (nr. Munster Road). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (May 6 and 20) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (May 4 and 18) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (May 6 and 20) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Thursdays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (May 5), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (May 19), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: A. J. Crisp, 35 Clinton Road, E.7.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (May 8 and 22) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: Bri 24680.

CHELLENHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DUNDEE. Enquiries: W. Elphinstone, 10 Benvie Road.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries: A. Hollingshead, 39 Leamington Terrace.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. 3rd Tuesday (May 19) in month, 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

The greatest tragedy of Capitalism is the suffering of its living victims

CAPITALISM — THE SICK SOCIETY

“I WANT to be left alone: I want to dream my dreams, to believe as I once believed that life is good and beautiful and that men can live with one another in peace and plenty. No son of a bitch on earth can tell me that to make life better you have to kill a million or ten million men in cold blood.”

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Selling the Socialist Standard in Hyde Park, May Day 1959

Journal of the **SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4
MACaulay 3811

JUNE 1959

Everyman a Capitalist

CLASSIFYING objects by their essential similarities and differences is a necessary step to thought and action. Every trade unionist does this when he organises with others who live by receiving wages, against employers who live on profits. The Socialist does it when he differentiates the system of society known as Capitalism from a basically different system of society he calls Socialism.

But the words that enable us to think clearly can also be used to cause confusion by linking up unlike objects which happen to have *unessential* similarities. Outside of politics the absurdity of this is easily recognised. Nobody thinks himself justified in describing an ice-cream as a small iceberg, a stickleback in a mill pond as a small whale, or a pigmy as a tiny giant. But in politics this kind of thing is going on all the time and most people do not readily see that it is fallacious.

We are led to consider this by the current campaign of the Tory and Labour parties "to make everyone a Capitalist."

A Board instead of a Boss

Not that the two are agreed on how they propose to do this. The Labour Party came to it through a series of debasements of the ideas some of its founders had half a century ago. Appalled by the spectacle of arrogant wealth and abject poverty existing side by side, they thought that if the government appropriated the land, factories, railways, etc., we could have a nation of people all employed by the State and living in comfort and on a more or less equal standard of living. Apart from that drastic act they proposed that the other features of life in Britain would go on as before: buying and selling, importing and exporting, holding colonies, taxation, saving and spending, etc. They soon decided on grounds of practical politics that confiscation was impossible, but they continued for a long time to proclaim their intention of nationalising the land and the major industries. Six years of Nationalisation by the post-war Labour Government practically killed it. The voters clearly did not

much like what they saw. It was all very well a dozen years ago to tell unions and railwaymen that they, along with the rest of the workers, had joined the Capitalists by becoming, through the government, the owners of the mines and railways, but talk of this kind would get a cool reception today from the miners and railwaymen who are being sacked because of redundancy. They do not feel that they are any better placed than the redundant cotton workers; being sacked by a Board instead of by a boss is no less painful.

So the old sweeping Nationalisation is off, and when the Tories accused the Labour Party of intending to nationalise 600 big firms, instead of saying "Yes, of course," as they would have done in their early days, Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Party, issued an angry denial. "We do not intend—and we have never stated in any official document—that it was our intention to nationalise the large firms." (*Daily Herald*, April 30th, 1959.)

The new Labour Party plan is for the government to buy shares in large companies and in general not to take them over.

The Labour Party still maintains that it is Socialism they aim at. They called the original scheme Socialism, and they call the new scheme Socialism. They were wrong then and wrong now. Government control or ownership of whole industries or of shares in companies is Capitalism not Socialism. The *Observer* (May 3rd, 1959) is quite right when it says of the Tory plan and the Labour plan: "What is significant is that both parties nowadays rely equally on the process of Capitalist growth."

All to be Capitalists!

The Tory plan, sponsored by a Conservative Party Committee in a booklet "Everyman a Capitalist," is similar in that it proposes the buying of company ordinary shares, but it differs in that the shares are to be bought by individual workers. They will, however, not buy them direct but through investment trusts, which will buy shares in a number of companies and then sell industrial investment certificates to individuals.

The ideas behind both plans are much the same. They are put in the form that it is a good thing to have more people "owning a stake in industry," and that these new small owners will share in the growth of capital and profits of the companies.

There are several things wrong with the reasoning. Ten years of low unemployment on the one hand and rising prices and profits on the other, have not altered the fact that depression with its heavy unemployment and falling profits and bankruptcies are just as "normal" to Capitalism as are its booms. Workers who buy shares expecting only rises may find themselves owning depressed or worthless shares. It is always the big speculators, "the men in the know," who have the best chance of selling in time.

Secondly, the relatively small sums owned by individual workers do not cease to be only trifling amounts in comparison with the wealth of the Capitalist class by being put into company shares instead of being deposited

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

in a Savings Bank. Even if the prices of shares and profits of companies went on rising the relative position would be the same, because the wealth of the rich would be growing at the same time. All the changes of the past 50 years have not altered the basic relationship that about a tenth of the population own about nine-tenths of the accumulated wealth.

Small Millionaires

Thirdly, and more important still, the relationship between the Capitalist, who lives by the wealth produced for him by the working class, and the working class who produce that wealth, but receive only a part of it in the form of wages, is not altered at all. The worker who has a few hundred pounds saved does not cease to be dependent on wages because he receives interest or dividend of a few shillings a week from his investment. And, to come back to where we started, the possession of a few hundred pounds does not change a worker into a Capitalist. A Capitalist is a man whose wealth is large enough to enable him to live on the "property income" he receives from it, an income derived from the exploitation of the working class. The worker with £300 is no more a "small Capitalist" than he is a "small millionaire."

Why are the Tories fostering this idea? Clearly it is with the purpose, not of making us all into Capitalists—which is as impossible as having a social system in which all the population, including the slaves, are slave-owners—but with the intention of deceiving the workers into believing that they have an interest in preserving Capitalism.

The Institute of Directors have issued a booklet called "Mind Your Own Business," warning companies against the dangers of Nationalisation. It is a very good description of what workers ought to be doing, provided that they recognise that their employers' business belongs to them, not to the workers they employ, and that the two schemes, Tory and Labour, for promoting what a city editor calls "popular Capitalism" (*Manchester Guardian*, 4th May, 1959) are both of them useless and dangerous to the working class.

* * * * *

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The SOCIALIST PARTY needs money urgently for the General Election.

This work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

The Passing Show

Socialists are continually being asked by reformers to put their objective—which is, naturally enough, Socialism—into cold storage and instead use their time and energy to support "immediate demands," such as the abolition of the H-bomb, the ending of the new laws in Rhodesia, action by the N.C.B. about miners' unemployment, and so on. But the only objective, immediate or otherwise, of Socialists is Socialism. And if the efforts of the world's reformers had in the last fifty years been used to work for Socialism, their "immediate demands" would probably by now be unnecessary.

SOUTH AFRICA

Prominent among the objects of the reformers' interest is South Africa. They abhor apartheid. The result of their reforms would be to give the African workers the same opportunities as the white workers: that is, to work on equal terms for the South African capitalists. The objective of Socialists is to free both white and black workers from wage-slavery, and to end the evils of capitalism in South Africa as elsewhere.

Hand in hand

The aims of the reformers in regard to South Africa are, in fact, exactly the same as the aims of the capitalists in regard to South Africa. The present state of affairs in the Union is the result of the political dominance of the large farmers, who are determined to keep the land (which gives them their economic and political power) for themselves, and to deny the Africans any political or educational equality, since that would only strengthen the Africans' desire to own the land themselves, instead of merely working on it for the benefit of the white owners. The farmers wish to keep the Africans in subjection, as uneducated hewers of wood and drawers of water. But this is in direct contradiction to the desires of the South African capitalists, who want an educated working class, and one which is not made discontented by being deprived of the vote. The South African landowners strongly oppose giving the Africans the vote, since propaganda will no longer fool landless men into believing they can never be anything else: but the capitalists do not think that the grant of the vote will deprive them of any power, since they

can see that in much of the capitalist world the workers possess the vote and yet make no attempt to use it to overthrow the capitalist systems (private or state) which sit on their backs.

Half-Baked

The identity of aims between the reformers and the capitalists has come out strongly in recent weeks. No journal, perhaps, can claim to speak for British capitalists with as much truth as *The Director*, the journal of the Institute of Directors. And in its April issue it shows great hostility to the South African Government's latest face-saving plan. Hoping to side-track the Africans' demands for political equality, Dr. Verwoerd has announced his plan to create five Bantustans out of the present native reserves (which cover only one-sixth of the Union's territory) and to hold out to Africans in the Bantustans the hope of eventual political independence. The Africans would thus regard the Bantustans as their real homes, and would be treated in the much larger white area (including all the industrial districts) as a mere drifting population. But capitalism requires a steady, settled, tied-down, working class: and *The Director* damns the scheme comprehensively, dismissing it finally with "The Bantustan plan, in short, looks half-baked and wholly impracticable, politically and economically."

Spinach collecting

The supporters of South African capitalism in the South African Parliament itself similarly attacked the Government's bill to segregate whites and non-whites at college, by creating new universities for Africans only. "Sited in remote rural areas," *The Observer* (12-4-59) reports, "and cut off as far as possible from contact with Western civilisation, the 'universities' will be too small to provide anything like the facilities available at proper universities." But universities under a capitalist system exist to supply the capitalists with the upper ranks of the workers in their industries and in their state services. The Opposition was therefore much disquieted with the repeated statements of Government M.P.s that "the separate universities would restore to the African

his 'Bantu culture.'"

What was this "Bantu culture" that had to be preserved and promoted, inquired an Opposition M.P. To answer his own question he turned to the chapter headed "The Culture of the South African Bantu" in the most famous of apartheid documents, the Tomlinson Report.

Bantu Culture, declares the report, embraces "Bride price" polygamy, ritual practices, ancestor worship, the brewing of beer and the collection of wild fruits and spinach.

And the collection of wild fruits and spinach is scarcely a preparation for work in the higher levels of capitalist industry.

Afrikaaner industrialists

The division among the whites in South Africa is not between English and Afrikaaners, but between the capitalists and the landed interests. Hitherto capitalist industry has been owned chiefly by English speakers, and the land mainly by Afrikaans speakers. But South African industry is growing year by year, and more and more of it is owned by Afrikaaners. *The Manchester Guardian* (13-4-59) says:

At the same time it is known that influential people in the growing Afrikaans industrial and commercial world are apprehensive about the effects on world opinion and on the economy of the country of such measures as the bill to create separate African "states," the bill to impose stringent forms of job reservation (for whites) on industry, and the bill to impose university apartheid.

Here lies the real danger for the supporters of apartheid—the increasing strength of capitalism. But when the South African capitalists have gained their inevitable victory, and have given the African workers equal rights with the white workers, then the only change that matters, in South Africa as in the rest of the world, will still have to be

• • • • •

To the Editor



CORRESPONDENCE

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. We shall also be happy to answer your questions. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

accomplished: the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist society.

SIR DAVID IN TROUBLE

Sir David Eccles has been getting into trouble again. He told a German audience that the British royal family was all the better for its Hanoverian blood (*The Observer*, 3-5-59). Great exception was taken to this in the British newspapers. What they principally objected to was that anyone should mention the subject at all. It is never admitted in polite political circles that Prince Philip is German (coming from the German family that rules over the lucky Greeks) and that the Queen is part German (the family which occupies the British throne having been German, and having married Germans, from 1714, until the future George VI broke the custom by marrying an English-woman). Sir David Eccles will get no further in politics if he drops any more bricks. He must learn that the successful politician doesn't say things merely because they are true: he only says what the audience wants to hear.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Trip to Ireland

April 4-11th

The following is a short report of the activities in Ireland and matters which arose during my visit.

We travelled from Belfast to Dublin on the Saturday evening after I arrived, and a get-together had been arranged at the home of Comrade Chris Walsh, who had travelled to Dublin for the occasion.

On Sunday the Conference was held in the Boilermakers' Hall. This was the first Conference to take place in the Socialist Party of Ireland, and its chief aim was to set the Party on its feet as a national organisation. Until now there has been little contact between the Dublin and Belfast Branches, and they have been virtually two separate organisations.

The Conference appointed an Executive Committee, which will meet alternatively in Dublin and Belfast on the first Sunday of each Quarter. Its members are Comrades Montague and Devine, of Belfast, Comrades McBrain and Adams, Dublin, and Comrade Hackett of Armagh, where there is a sturdy group which probably will soon become a Branch. Montague was appointed General Secretary and Adams,

"LOVE THY ENEMIES"

The Archbishop of Canterbury, returning from a tour of the Far East, tells us that the Japanese "are a lovable people" (*Daily Herald*, 29-4-59). And a fine, appropriate sentiment it is from the head of a church which claims to advocate love and kindness. Only one criticism: why didn't the Archbishop tell us this between 1941 and 1945, when Britain was at war with Japan? All we heard then from the bishops were exhortations to work harder and fight more fiercely to wipe out the bestial, inhuman Japs. But there it is. When British capitalism requires the organisation of a wave of hate, all its subsidiary concerns do their bit to help: and that includes the Church. Now, when the Japanese are our allies against the Russians, the latter, who were lovable from 1941 to 1945, have become bestial and inhuman, and it is the Japs who are lovable. How thankful the Church must be that the average man seems to have no memory.



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(continued on page 93)

THE ETHICS OF MARXISM

Marxism and Humanism

Is Marxism a Humanism? By CHARLES TAYLOR, ULR, IS.

THIS pamphlet by an editor of *Universities and Left Review*, starts so many hares running that one wondered whether in the end it would turn out to be a kind of wild goose chase. We cannot say that in the pursuit, we have all Mr. Taylor's hares in the bag, but we did manage to catch one or two remarkable specimens.

To begin at the end. Mr. Taylor's conclusions are that as a humanism, Marxism is inadequate. A true humanism, he says, must regard men as ends in themselves, never as a means to an end. On the question of ends and means he believes Marx's position to be ambivalent. Marx's primary concern, he argues, "was the smashing of Capitalist relations." From this a Socialist society would then be built up and only when this was done would Socialist man or truly human relations, emerge. This is the classic Communist formula for the "proletarian revolution."

Given then the assumptions of an over-riding political authority—an elite—to put all this into effect, he continues, might not the ruling authority in pursuit of this end, be tempted to subordinate everything, including men, towards its attainment? Might not a state of affairs come about in such a situation where the maxim prevails—"the end justifies the means"? And might this not mean that men themselves could become merely a means to an end, which in turn brings about an end different from the one originally intended. Marx, thinks Mr. Taylor, never resolved this conflict between ends and means which involves a contradiction between Marxist practice and Marxist ethics.

This, we believe, boils down the essence of Mr. Taylor's vague and diffuse treatment of the subject.

"The Revolution Betrayed"

Mr. Taylor offers Soviet Russia as the classic example of where this sort of thing happened. His Marxist motif has the orchestral background of—"The revolution betrayed." It seems we are asked to believe that what took place in Russia in 1917 and the projects put through by the Bolsheviks, would have met with Marx's approval. Mr. Taylor assures us that there are elements of Marxism in Stalinism and further these "elements" provide the latter with a theoretical justification.

Finally, Mr. Taylor believes that Marxism fails as a humanism because of its insistence on class loyalties. This generates hostility towards those who do not share them and leads to the dictum that those who are not with us are against us. In this way, he argues, barriers arise

between different sets of men. He urges that we must strive to enter into full human relationships with all men, irrespective of differences of outlook attitudes and presumably interests. Unless we are able to do this, he thinks, no worthwhile social future is possible.

His own recipe for true humanism consists of the time honoured ingredients, universal good will, brotherly love and the fullest expression of the individual. These are the ethical foundations for building the New Jerusalem. For the class, ethics of Marxism he offers the classless ethics of Christ and Kant.

Over a century ago there came into being an order of a kind of Socialist monkhood whereby it was proposed by example, incantation and prayer to chant the way to the promised land. In this year of grace we seem to be witnessing its revival.

We cannot, of course, accept the assumption that a Socialist society was in process of being built up in Russia. Our views on what took place in Russia are too well known to require a detailed exposition here. What we can say is that when Lenin as early as 1921 blurted out that "State Capitalism exists in Russia," he blurted out the truth. When he added "State Capitalism in the interest of the working class is Socialism," he blurted out the clumsy but classic lie of all labour apologists. State Capitalism, it was in Lenin's time, in Stalin's time and State Capitalism it still is.

The Alienation of Labour

Mr. Taylor tells us that Marx at least wanted to abolish a state of affairs which has bought about what he, Marx, called "the alienation of labour" or to state it another way, the excessive division of labour which is an integral feature of the extant productive system. A division of labour which has such crippling effects on the working capacities of men and their productive potentialities and which disintegrates human personalities by transmutation into a single function and imposes on labour an exclusive activity. That is true. Above all things Marx and Engels insisted that this system with its division of labour must be replaced by a social organisation where there will be "no exclusive circle of activity and where it will be possible to engage in a many-sided productive activity and to do one thing today and another tomorrow." So important is this question of the alienation of labour to the assumptions of Marxist ethics that we propose to deal with it more fully in the next issue.

What we can say here is that if the "alienation of labour" is the hall mark of Capitalist production, then "re-unification of labour" will be the characteristic of

Socialist production. It was, however, the task of Lenin and Stalin via the instrumentality of the dictatorship to accentuate and accelerate this alienation of labour; to attempt to develop at breakneck speed the division of labour essential to Capitalist production. Not to integrate the human personality in the productive process, but to disintegrate it. Lenin's formula for the alienation of labour was the ironic equation, American efficiency plus electrification—Socialism.

Social Revolution

In their attitude to the role and function of the working class, Marx and Engels were worlds apart from Lenin and Stalin. Marx and Engels declared that the social revolution could only be the self-conscious movement of the self-conscious majority. Lenin believed that it would be directed by "the green table intellectuals." Marx said, "to fit the workers for their historic task of inaugurating the new society would require years of patient educational work." Lenin on the other hand stated that "If we wait for the people to understand Socialism we shall wait a thousand years." Engels, tells us, "Marx and I rely on the intellectual maturity of the working class to achieve their emancipation." Lenin, on the contrary asserted, "the proletariat can never advance beyond a trade union consciousness."

It is true Marx in the Gotha programme talked about lower and higher phases of Communist society. Of the latter, Engels tells us, "a really human morality which transcends class antagonisms and their legacy in thought becomes possible only at a stage of society which has not only overcome class contradictions but has even forgotten

them in practical life," and there is nothing wrong with this view. Both Marx and Engels looked forward to the expediting of a state of affairs, where "the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour and the antithesis between intellectual and manual labour had vanished" and where "labour had become not merely a means to live but the primary necessity of life itself."

What a tragic travesty has the so-called Socialist revolution in Russia made of Marx's and Engels conception—of the truly human condition of the species. Once long ago Lenin in his more indulgent moods, spoke of "the withering away of the state in a Socialist society." It is not the state which has withered away in Russia—only the concept has withered.

Marx and Engels were uncompromising equalitarians. "From each according to his capacity to each according to his needs" remains the greatest ethical contribution to the humanistic ideal. Not only did they share the humanitarian ideals of the great Utopians of the past, they did more, they joined Utopia to science.

Soviet "Equalitarianism"

Lenin and certainly not Stalin were never unqualified equalitarians. It is true Lenin in the early days of the revolution laid down in principle that no State official should receive a higher income than the average wage of a competent worker. But even so, Lenin was also concerned with the fact that he did not want to see the newly formed State apparatus degenerate into a kind of bureaucracy which he was apprehensive about.

Actually the demand for a much more drastic equalitarianism came "from below," a demand which Lenin resisted. It was under the New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin that inequality of remuneration became more marked, and under Stalin's "Socialist" regime these inequalities became even more glaring than those of Western Capitalism. It was finally left to Stalin a few years later to denounce equalitarianism as "a petty bourgeois deviation" and a crime against the State. After that the mass of workers were indoctrinated into the belief that inequality of remuneration was a fundamental Socialist principle.

Little wonder that the ageing Fabians, Mr. and Mrs. Webb, set the seal of Fabian approval on Russia in their work, "Soviet Communism" and Bernard Shaw declared Lenin's N.E.P., "to be the carrying out of Fabian policy."

We will not apologise for spending so long a time in discussing the antithetical differences between Marx and Engels and the Soviet ideologists who spoke in their names. Because Mr. Taylor has taken to task what he believes to be the contradictions involved in the Marxist ethics and its inadequacy as a humanism and has at least in part sought empirical demonstration of his theme in Soviet practices, we felt it necessary to clear the ground for assessing his reasons for the failure of Marxism to achieve a true humanistic level. For that reason we shall in the next issue attempt to show that although the Marxist ethic is a class ethic it in no way conflicts with the aims and ideals it sets out to achieve—the truly human society or socialised humanity.

E. W.

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THE SOCIAL BASIS OF MENTAL ILL-HEALTH

Capitalism—The Sick Society

"I WANT to be left alone; I want to dream my dreams. . . to believe as I once believed, that life is good and beautiful and that men can live with one another in peace and plenty. No son of a bitch on earth can tell me that to make life better you have to first kill a million or ten million men in cold blood." The cry from the heart of millions of ordinary people today; people whose only wish is to live happy, full, life free from hardship, fear and anxiety.

This *cri de coeur* comes from a "fictitious" American, a soldier disabled in World War I, "The alcoholic veteran with the washboard cranium." His creator—Henry Miller, whose savage, bitter attacks on Capitalist society are brilliantly embodied in his story of the Cosmodemonic Telegraph Company from *The Tropic of Capricorn*.

The greatest tragedy of Capitalism is the suffering of its living victims. The dead are dead and can feel nothing, but the living must endure the frustrations, the fears, the uncertainties, the insecurity, which are inextricably bound to mid-twentieth-century Capitalism. Nearly half the hospital beds in the United Kingdom are reserved for patients with mental illness; in the United States it is as common for people to have their own "head shrinker" (psychiatrist) as it is for them to have their own butcher or beautician. Here is a tape-recording of a private talk between an American T.V. producer (Dan Enright) and a professional "quiz contestant" (Herbert Stempel), reported in *Time* magazine of 15th September, 1958:

Enright: I want to get a psychiatrist for you.

Stempel: I already have one.

Enright: No, sir. I want you to go to a psychiatrist five days a week, not twice, Herb, to expedite yourself. . . . We will foot the cost. . . .

Stempel: Well, my doctor seems to feel that my problem isn't serious enough for five days a week.

Age of the Phoney

A society must be grievously sick when so many of its members have to undergo mental treatment. Psychiatry is a peculiar product of modern Capitalist society. Mental conflicts (including the "neuroses," which account for so much mental illness nowadays) are largely the result of peoples' inability to come to terms with their environment, and psychiatry is an attempt to resolve these conflicts; but they are inevitable under Capitalism, where society is divided by warring groups and classes.

Capitalism has created a world of potential plenty, but millions of its workers either live in poverty or else they live in a state of apprehension lest some "crisis" (an oft recurring feature of Capitalism) throw them into poverty. Capitalism is world-wide, but lethally armed

nations make a mockery of cooperation with the shrill cries of their gutter-patriotic leaders and their insatiable demands for markets, trade routes, and for their Cypruses, their Formosas, their Algerias. Capitalism, especially the mid-twentieth-century brand, will go down in human history as the great age of the phoney. Honesty and integrity are subjects for derision; the present-day gods are the gimmick, the ballyhoo, and the slick-tongued salesman, all wallowing in a bog of false social values.

The U.S.A.

No country in this Capitalist world is more socially sick than the United States of America. The United States is a fantastic amalgum: it possesses the source of scientific knowledge and industrial techniques challenged only by Soviet Russia, and yet, according to Paul Blanchard in his book *The Right to Read* (The Beacon Press, Boston, 1955), there are roughly 8,000,000 "functional illiterates" in the U.S.A. That is, there are 8,000,000 adults who have not got the reading knowledge that a child should acquire in the first four years at school. And according to Louis R. Wilson's study *The Geography of Reading* (quoted in the above book), only about one-half of the adult population of the United States in 1938 had sufficient reading skill to understand the ordinary books published for adults. And yet these "functional illiterates" are subjected to the same strains and stresses of Capitalism as their more "enlightened" fellows: is it any wonder, then, that many are intellectually and emotionally incapable of coming to grips with a bitterly competitive and hostile environment—modern capitalist society?

When faced with a problem, some people fight it, some run away from it, and some remain undecided, a battleground of conflicting emotions which tend to destroy the peace of mind and cause mental illness. When faced with the problems of Capitalism, therefore, some people fight them (Socialists are in this category), some run away (Capitalism must answer for many suicides), and others become mentally ill: they either fill the mental hospitals, appear in police courts, or, more tragic still, they may live for years with terrible mental conflicts which blight their own and their families' lives.

But suddenly these pent-up frustrations, conflicts, and inward suffering may erupt with dreadful results: people "flip their lids" as Americans so graphically describe the onset of acute mental illness, and the outward peace of the humdrum "respectable" home is shattered brutally and irrevocably. Consider the case of 16-year-old Diana Daye Humphries, who ambushed and shot to death her 14-year-old brother in their home in Houston, Texas.

According to an Associated Press despatch dated 24th

September, 1958, Diana was an honour student at High School, where her teachers and schoolmates described her as a "brilliant student and well-liked girl, not the type to do a thing like this." But she *did* do it, and her reasons for doing it are a terrible indictment of the existence she and her family (along with millions like them) endure under modern Capitalism. Diana (who had also planned to kill her father, her mother and herself) told the police: "I did it because everything was so routine. My mother goes to work every day and comes home tired. So does my father, and he is sick with ulcers. Everyone was always tired. Robert was tired of school. It seemed we were always getting up, going to work or school, coming home, cooking meals, eating, washing dishes, going to bed and getting up again. I couldn't stand it! I wanted to kill everyone so we wouldn't have to suffer any more."

This penetrating picture of working-class life by a teenage girl makes a macabre mockery of all the sickening eulogies of Capitalist society with which Capitalists and their politicians and spokesmen incessantly bombard our senses. What dark powers Capitalism must have to turn a "brilliant student and well-liked girl" of such tender years into a pessimistic, disillusioned, killer.

Another Associated Press report dated 24th September, 1958, this time from Sparta, Michigan, tells of the tragedy of an unemployed man who killed four of his five children with a shot-gun; his fifth child and estranged wife escaped with minor injuries. The father told the police: "I can only take so much. I got shot up in the war and my nerves act up." By no means the least horrifying aspect of this tragedy was the hard-boiled, matter-of-fact, attitude of the eight-year-old surviving child, who is reported to have been found sitting on a

blood-spattered bed saying: "Hey, cops! Daddy did this. I played dead. He thought he killed me, too."

These two cases represent the small number of human tragedies in which the stresses and strains of life under Capitalism cause violent reactions, and hence get into newspapers. They are the one-tenth of the iceberg visible above the surface of the water: the extent of submerged human misery can only be inferred from the great increase in recent years of mental illness, suicides, divorces, alcoholism (especially in young people), the so-called "psychosomatic" illnesses, such as duodenal ulceration, and the colossal trade in "tranquillisers" and sedatives.

The follies, miseries, frustrations, and personal tragedies of modern Capitalist society have been, and are being, forcefully recorded by a growing number of novelists, mostly American. Henry Miller's savage polemics in *The Tropic of Capricorn* are not generally available, but there are many other works freely obtainable from public libraries or as cheap "paper backs."

"1984"

Orwell's prophecy of the control of man's thoughts under the Capitalist corporate state a few decades hence is a phantasy (which may perhaps become partly true) featuring violence to mind and body and sophisticated torture. But Merle Miller (*The Sure Thing*) and David Karp (*Leave Me Alone*) suggest that "thought police" work, albeit "unofficial" is present today: these authors' subject is the intolerance, persecution; and in some cases social ruin, of people with ideas (real and imagined) slightly out of line with the "hundred-per-cent. All-American" outlook of conformist, unquestioning, suburban communities. These last two books are, in a way, more horrifying than *1984*, both because they describe what might actually be happening today, and also because the persecution and intolerance are not exercised by "thought police," but by groups of ordinary, well-meaning, law-abiding, citizens only too well indoctrinated with the ideas of intense nationalism, racial prejudices, and selfishness engendered by the Capitalist society in which they live.

The problems of Capitalist Society have been described by socialists, novelists, historians, sociologists, and even by professional politicians. But only Socialists recognise that most of these problems cannot be solved until Capitalism is replaced by a social system in which people throughout the world will work harmoniously together to produce and distribute wealth to satisfy society's needs. In this system of society, Socialism, there will be no terrible forces causing daughters and fathers to kill members of their families, there will be no need for armies of psychiatrists and overpopulated mental hospitals, no need for the senseless slaughter and maiming of men, women and children in war, and there will be no need for people to fear for their safety and security because of what they think.

To work for the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism is the life-work of the Socialist. What better work could there be?

M. L.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne,
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin, Eire
Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone, New Zealand

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass., U.S.A.

Wages and Trade Unions

WORKING people live on wages, which are obtained in their places of employment. Some workers own government bonds or company shares and derive income from these or from other sources. But all sources other than wages form a very small part of the average worker's income. Mainly the workers live on wages and any changes that occur in the amount of wages have a definite bearing on their conditions of life.

The wages which they receive represent a portion of the wealth they produce. This portion takes the form of money and is given to them by the owners of the places where they work in return for the use by the owners of their ability to work for specified periods of time.

This is a condition of existence common to all workers, not less to those who wear white collars and receive salaries than to those who wear overalls and receive pay envelopes. The boy leaving school at the age of 16 or 17 searches at once for an employer. There is nothing else he can do. His father does not own a "place of business." Neither do his relatives or his friends. Nor is there any way in which he can start a business of his own. There are exceptions, it is true, but in general the youngster leaves school and works all his useful life for some other person and lives through the years on wages.

So wages are very important to him and if unemployment causes his wages to stop, or if they become reduced or are not increased in times of rising prices, then he faces troublous times.

Mental Conditioning

Yet the worker does not give to wages the thought and consideration which their importance obviously urges. That is because he is subjected to mental conditioning. He picks up his newspaper in the evening, to find that world affairs are detailed and analysed without reference to wages. He turns on the radio or television and gets lengthy periods of sports, popular music, plays and other things, but not wages. Perhaps he goes to a movie house, to see a love story, a mystery, a western or some other type

of film, in which the characters all seem to live in some manner that precludes the existence of wages. On Sunday he takes himself to church to become removed to heights so lofty that the very thought of wages could only be disturbing if not blasphemous. There is a stigma attached to wages. The subject is dull and boring. Wages are not to be discussed except to reveal that they are an incontestable condition of existence for workers, but must be taken in modest sums.

How could the matter of wages be treated otherwise? All the main sources of information and entertainment are owned by the capitalist class, and these gentry are hardly likely to allow them to be used to call sympathetic attention to the wages question or to be critical of the system of wage payment. They like the wages system and they like wages to be low. It is from this state of affairs that their privileges and luxuries emerge. And they know that the more the minds of the workers are directed into channels remote from wages the less attention will they give to wages, and this can react only to the benefit of the employers.

Trade Unions

But in spite of these diversionary activities, which attain a great deal of success in keeping the workers passive, they do give attention to the question of wages. The pressures resulting from their status as wage workers, particularly the constant readiness of the employers to use every opportunity to lower their level of existence, compels activity in their own interest, even though this activity is all too reluctant and lacking in depth.

Over the years working people throughout the world have employed a variety of methods in the hope of improving their living conditions. They have petitioned parliament, supported candidates for office, organised political parties. They have paraded in the streets, erected barricades and fought against police. But most important, they have organised in trade unions, which have provided them with their most effective weapon, the strike.

The trade union exists to protect

and improve wages and working conditions. It engages in a number of other activities most of which are worthless, sometimes harmful. Because its members are not politically informed, it often allows itself to be used as a stepping stone to office by aspiring politicians. Indifference and apathy amongst its members sometimes lead to racketeering, cases of this kind recently being played up prominently in the daily press. But when all these things are taken into account, the real worth of the trade union must not be overlooked.

Strike Action

It seldom happens that a worker by himself can approach an employer and obtain an increase in wages. Workers in certain specialised types of employment may be able to do this, but not the average worker. He would be more likely to find himself on the street searching for another employer. Workers may influence their wages and working conditions only by collective effort and only by being in the position to stop working if their demands are not met. The ability to withhold their services is a weapon in their possession. It is the only final logic known to employers. Without it wages tend to sink below subsistence level. With it a substantial check can often be placed on the encroachments of the employers and improvements both in wages and working conditions can be made.

The strike is not a sure means of victory for workers in dispute with employers. There are many cases on record of workers being compelled to return to work without gains, sometimes with losses. Strikes should not be employed recklessly but should be entered into with caution, particularly during times when production falls off and there are growing numbers of unemployed. And it should not be thought that victory can be gained only by means of the strike. Sometimes more can be gained simply by the threat of a strike. Workers must bear all these things in mind if they are to make the most effective use of the trade union and the power which it gives them.

But above all, the workers, besides making the greatest possible use of the trade union, must also come to recognise that even at their best the unions cannot bring permanent security or end poverty. These aims

(continued bottom next page)

HIRE PURCHASE

The Snoopers

A FUIRORE arose recently in the readers' letters column of the *Daily Mirror*, when an article revealed that there were thousands of people employed by Finance Companies whose job it was to snoop into people's lives, and report on would-be hire purchase customers' credit reliability. Confirmation of this disturbing practice was forthcoming in subsequent letters, some even rushing to the defence of the malign investigators. A snoopers' letter pointed out that they performed a very important social function, in that they prevented goods being supplied either to people who couldn't afford them or to people who had no intention of meeting the repayments.

Irrespective of the ethical considerations involved, there is no doubt that this practice is here to stay, along with its progenitor, Hire Purchase. The growth of Hire Purchase and credit trading in this country since the war has been phenomenal, although, of course, far less than that in America. The increase in the total Hire Purchase debt here in the last eighteen months alone amounted to £220 millions, the total figure in November, 1958, amounting to the colossal sum of £565 millions. Allowing one half of this for commercial credit (machinery, vehicles, and so on), this means that the average personal debt per family works out at something over £20. And in the U.S.A. nine out of ten families live on credit of one form or another.

With this growth of credit selling to working people, it was inevitable that there should grow up the practice of "status reports" or enquiries into the means and earnings of customers. This has reached its highest peak in the U.S.A. with "credit ratings," by which every credit customer is given a record card at a central agency to which Finance Companies can refer. In 1955 the Asso-

ciated Credit Bureaux of America had 1,700 branches in the U.S.A. and Canada, with files on 75 million buyers. These files contain exhaustive information on the credit subject, including the earnings of all members of the family, personal habits, litigation record, records of past business dealings, value of house and mortgage position or amount of rent paid, and so on. By this system, the good and bad customers can be assessed and defaulters avoided, although strangely enough, the more credit commitments a customer has (promptly paid, of course), the higher his credit rating.

In this country the credit rating system has been proposed many times, but always to be turned down by the Finance associations because their members were not prepared to bear the cost. This is hardly surprising at a time when bad debts amount to less than one-half per cent. of the finance companies' turnover. However, one can confidently predict that when things become a little more difficult and the bad debt rate increases, the rating system will appear here, too, and we will all have little dossiers giving details of our earnings, family, virtues and vices (shades of the "police state"!)

Until that happy day arrives, the finance houses will make do with the snoopers, those raincoated individuals who, masquerading as friends or relatives, call on our neighbours to make discreet enquiries about our jobs, wages and homes. Then they pop along to the nearby shops and see if we run up bills or live beyond our means, and afterwards call on the factory gateman to make sure that we really do work there. In due course a little buff slip headed "confidential" is sent to the finance company stating, perhaps—"Works as engineer in local factory at salary of approx. £12 per week—two children aged 6 and 3—good standing with local tradesmen—well-kept home—considered good risk for the amount of credit mentioned." Or—if the customer is less praiseworthy—"Worked for last two months as fitter—frequently changes job—5 children, 18 months to 7 years—poor home—considered unsafe."

In this country, although the enquiry organisation is

"What are Wages"—continued

cannot be gained within the limits of capitalist society. When the workers have raised their sights high enough to envisage a society where there can be no conflict over wages and where each will contribute to the production of wealth according to his ability and receive from the produce according to his needs, they are thinking of a goal that can be gained only after they have become organised into a political organisation having for its object the introduction of Socialism. Such an organisation is the Socialist Party.

Leaflet published by the
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

NOTICES

Publication Date

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. at 7.30 p.m.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

not as complete and exhaustive as that in the U.S.A., it is highly organised. In some towns, the enquiry agencies have files on tens of thousands of hire purchase customers, and the motor-car trade has its own comprehensive system. There is a central agency which records all hire purchase transactions on cars, and issues reports to all its members. This, of course, is essential in a trade dealing with goods that are often priced at £1,000 or more, and where strict control has to be exercised to prevent hirers from selling cars that are still the property of finance companies.

The Hire Purchase Trade Association has 20,000 part-time enquiry agents on its books for the purpose of obtaining "status reports." There are many smaller organisations using such agents, who are normally part-timers, supplementing their income from rent-collecting and so on. Many are retired Police officers; some are ordinary housewives.

These agents are only a small part of snooperdom. There are many thousands of private enquiry agents who, unlike the romantic figures of Sam Spade and Dr. Thorndike, are kept busy by the sordid divorce investigations and the routine serving of writs and summonses.

Most people look upon snooping as an unsavoury occupation, but do not see where the real unsavouriness lies. This kind of activity is an essential part of property society, a society which provides even more unsavoury occupations, such as the policeman who breaks strikers' heads with his truncheon, or the soldier mangling

workers of other countries. The jobs themselves are not likely to ennoble the characters of the performers, but this is not the main issue. They are carrying out a necessary function of an irrational and harmful social order, and one which exemplifies the sheer idiocy of the social organisation.

What sensible reason can there be for an arrangement whereby some workers produce goods, other workers advertise them, yet more workers arrange them in gaudy shop-windows, more workers fill in hire purchase forms, even more run the complicated accounting and collecting system of the finance companies, some more occupy their time snooping into the buyers' lives, others add up the bosses' profit, a few store it away in bank vaults, and finally, a tiny section of the population live more than comfortably on the proceeds?

Surely a simpler and less wasteful arrangement is called for? Why should a vast number of people have to perform useless and frustrating tasks, in order to satisfy the selfish wishes of a ruling clique? Yet it is working people themselves who perpetuate this foolish system; who do the useless tasks as well as the useful; the unproductive as well as the productive.

The trouble is that the alternative, a world of common ownership and common effort, is frightening in its simplicity. It seems too easy to be true. Nevertheless, true it is. It's as simple as that!

A. W. 1.

Lyndoe on Marx

A READER asks us to comment on an article from the pen of one Edward Lyndoe who is by profession an "astrologist."

In the November 1958 number of *Prediction* this writer has turned his attention to the "Chart of—Karl Marx." His article tells us nothing about Marx personally, and less than nothing about his ideas—which are what have made him so notorious, but concentrates entirely on trying to show that Marx's actions, in his practical everyday life, were the results of his "chart" or horoscope. In doing this, Mr. Lyndoe shows his utter ignorance of Marxism, but reveals unintentionally, quite a lot about the methods of fortune-tellers, crystal gazers and palm-readers who profess to reveal the future, for a suitable fee.

As Karl Marx died in 1883 the only thing Mr. Lyndoe can do in his case, is to try to show that Marx's astrological chart, that is the relative positions of the planets on his birth day, would confirm

what Mr. Lyndoe puts forward as Marx's biography and "explain" his actions. His main contention is that Marx was a hypocritical old fraud who, in fact, had no "sympathy with humanitarian ideals," whose "poverty" in London was "largely a sham," and that when Marx became a revolutionary he was only "acting on the stage."

To make his otherwise very dull and boring article a bit more tasty, Mr. Lyndoe has thrown in, as a titbit, a further allegation, culled from the pages of the Vienna gutter press, that Herr Raab the Austrian Chancellor took with him to Moscow last year a recently discovered letter from the files of the Secret Police, purporting to have been sent to Frankfurt Political Police by Karl Marx reporting on Austrian and German political exiles in London. He further alleges that Marx was actually living in London on £5 monthly paid to him by the secret police. During his life-time, on more than one occasion,

Marx showed himself well able to deal with this sort of pin-prick when resorted to by those he crushed in controversy.

Regarding the alleged letter in the Vienna files, we should require more proof than the statement of Mr. Lyndoe. So far as the established facts of Marx's London exile are concerned, they are on record in the numerous biographies and biographical sketches. Let any reader in doubt consult Mehring's *Karl Marx* or the sketches by Liebknecht and Lafargue.

That Marx lived in the direst poverty, prior to Engels' retirement, is so well known that we apologise to readers for repeating it. As a typical example, here is an extract from the Diary of Frau Marx, showing the suffering and hardship the Marx family underwent in London.

"At Easter 1852 our poor little Franziska fell ill with severe bronchitis. For three days the poor child struggled against death and suffered much. Her small lifeless body rested in our little back room whilst we all went together into the front room and when night came we made up beds on the floor. The three surviving children lay with us and

we cried for the poor little angel who now rested so cold and lifeless in the next room. The poor child's death took place in a period of bitterest poverty."

Karl Marx by F. Mehring. (Allen and Unwin page 217.)

In actual fact, he lost three children through infant starvation. At one period the body of his baby son lay on the table in a wooden box while his father strove frantically to find the small sum necessary for his burial. In fact, tragic though they were at the time, episodes such as the occasion when Marx found himself at Bow Street for trying to pawn his wife's valuable silver are now regarded humourously.

This, as Socialists, is not our main concern. What Mr. Lyndoe is completely ignorant of, and what he must do, to write about Marx for intelligent people is get some idea of what it was that Marx was advocating. Significant for the ideas of Marx is not that he was born in the conjunction of Uranus—Neptune, but in the early stages of a new kind of social order—Capitalism.

Incidentally Mr. Lyndoe cannot have it both ways. If the actions of individuals are not their own, but predestined by their "charts" or "stars," what is Mr. Lyndoe complaining about—fraud, hypocrite, spy or not, Marx was merely fulfilling his destiny—he couldn't have been anything else. But the critic makes these actions the grounds for moral strictures and homilies. He complains that "Marxian Communism is the religion which not only glorifies the ends regardless of the means, but glorifies the means themselves. We should not be too sanctimonious about some of the methods used in our part of the globe—but, at least we do not feel disposed to trumpet them abroad as a new morality." What all this has to do with Marx and his stars nobody will ever know!

Here, dear Mr. Lyndoe, are the important facts. A German philosopher, turned journalist, found himself unable to answer some of the questions his readers were asking about social conditions in the Rhineland in 1843. He resigned and resolved to study to try to clarify the position. This job of studying the social position eventually became a life-work, and led him through many strange unexpected paths making him many enemies, and not a few friends.

Now unlike Mr. Lyndoe, we would not hold that Marx or anyone else is a pawn in the hands (or beams) of Uranus. Within well defined limits a certain

amount of choice was his. He could either publicly renounce the inevitable logical conclusions of his researches and findings, or boldly proclaim his adherence to them. Marx unravelled the law of social development, he explained the rise of the new ruling class and saw within Capitalism the seeds of yet another form, Socialism.



In the *Communist Manifesto* he wrote explicitly of various class spokesmen and representatives and the fact that some individuals, though not born in the ranks of the oppressed and exploited, take their place among them.

"Just as in former days part of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie—so now part of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat. Especially does this happen in the case of some of the bourgeois ideologists, who have achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical movement as a whole." (*Communist Manifesto*, Page 38, Ryazanov edition.)

This "understanding of the historical movement as a whole" is a closed book to Lyndoe. So far as workers are concerned it is vital—it is their destiny as a class which is at stake. The action to deal with their problems will be taken by themselves, with the help of Marx's ideas.

So far as Marx's personal character and actions come into it at all, it only

remains to add that Socialism was probably particularly fortunate to stumble across a man of Marx's mental and personal integrity. Whatever the consequences—whatever the outcome of his conclusions—he stood by them. They could not have been more unpopular with capitalists, those of wealth and power, who saw to it that if they couldn't physically maltreat and victimise him—at least they could take it out of his wife and children—which they did. Once he had signed the *Communist Manifesto* the author of the slogan "Workers of all lands! Unite!" could not get a job as a Railway Clerk, degree or not!

Karl Marx, of course, is not the only instance of someone of genius whose explosive ideas have incurred the wrath of the powers that be—Bruno burnt at the stake, Galileo tortured on the rack, Hypatia cut to death with sharp shells.

Others like Lyell and Darwin have also been the target for vituperation though not physical outrage. In our own day there are those to whom Professor Pauling and Bertrand Russell are anathema because they do not support some suicidal war policy.

Even the Archbishop of Canterbury can admit that the Earth is millions, not thousands of years old—that life has evolved and was not "created." But no capitalist can tolerate the idea that capitalism is obsolete and superfluous—that it thrives on exploitation—that its days (and his days) are doomed, that a superior and inevitable alternative, Socialism, is on the way.

All these things Marx proved. The best estimate of his personal character, was that of the man best qualified to make it—Frederick Engels, who at his graveside said "Marx was, above all, a revolutionary. The battle was his element."

HORATIO.

"Trip to Ireland" continued from page 85
nearly £8 and wipe out the deficit in Dublin's funds.

We returned to Belfast on Monday morning, and public meetings were held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. The Tuesday one was on Socialism and Religion, a rather daring subject in Ireland, but the audience was appreciative throughout. At the Wednesday meeting a group of Communists made weak attempts at opposition but did accept a challenge to debate, and if this materialises it should be an excellent thing for the Belfast Branch. On

Thursday we travelled to Armagh and held another successful indoor meeting; I was told before I left that on the following day the Armagh members had many callers asking for Party literature.

There was no meeting on the last night, Friday, but on this night and all the others, members gathered together to discuss and ask question after question. I left with the impression that the Socialist Party of Ireland is really on its feet for the first time, and the prospects are good. At the same time they need help in various directions.

R. COSTER.

Trial and Error

Call The Doctor.

By E. S. TURNER, *Michael Joseph*, 21s.

In an age of X-rays and artificial kidneys, there is no excuse for anybody thinking that the stomach is an oven where food is cooked by heat from the liver. No doctor now prescribes the gall of a bull mixed with vinegar, or wine made from six live vipers. Yet this, apparently, once passed for medical science. At this distance, it seems incredible that the patients stood for it; we can only hope that we are less gullible today.

Quacks

The book starts as it intends to go on, shocking us with the Salerno rules for the mediaeval physicians; ("When feeling the patient's pulse, allow for the fact that he may be disturbed by your arrival and by the thought of the fee you are going to charge him"). It tells of the vogue for revolting medicines and antidotes, one of which—the bezoar stone—was discredited by trying it on a criminal after giving him a large dose of corrosive. The wretched man was found crawling like an animal around his cell, with blood streaming from every orifice of his body. There is the story of the quacks, ("The cheapest and safest Way of bringing forth ye Venom of ye Secret Disease . . . Sold by J. Sherwood, Bookseller") and the bodysnatchers, who supplied the doctors of the 18th and 19th centuries with their subjects for dissection. For hundreds of years, the physicians fought the over-indulgence of the well-to-do by drawing off rivers of their blood and administering tons of violent purgatives, and probably committing vast slaughter in the process.

Mr. Turner has a lot of surprises for us. Who knew that *The Lancet* was founded as a truculent rebel journal,

which earned the disapproval of the Royal College of Surgeons by revealing the substance of medical lectures and reporting horribly bungled operations? Or that, before the day of anaesthetics, surgeons worked so fast that some could amputate a leg in the time taken to sprint a hundred yards? The operations were particularly gruesome—as late as the 1890's, the surgeon wore a frock coat which he kept behind his theatre door and which was sometimes so stiff with blood and filth that it could have stood up on its own. Equally sickening is to read about the ignorance of the sources of infection. About the doctor who carried in his pocket some remains from the abdomen of a woman lately dead of childbirth fever—and wore the same clothes when attending later confinements. Sometimes the doctors were reluctant to change their ideas. Here is plenty of ammunition for those who think the medical profession has always been an obstinate, unprogressive lot.

Disappointment

Yet when we have recovered from our disgust and surprise, what is there in this book? A little disappointment; the subtitle—*A Social History of Medical Men*—is hardly justified. There is no suggestion that the medical and surgical advances of the 18th and 19th centuries were related to the achievements of the Industrial Revolution. The 1914-18 war, one of the great disruptive social influences of the 20th century, gets a couple of paragraphs. Could it be that too much—over 500 years—is crammed into too little—just over 300 pages?

To satisfy Socialists, *Call The Doctor* must have pointed out that medical science cannot be excepted from the principle that our knowledge expands with the development of society's wealth-producing capabilities. That modern

medical research and techniques reflect—and are made feasible by—the advance of modern industry. Anaesthetics could not have happened without the Industrial Revolution and it is hardly necessary to say that machines like the iron lung can only be made in a factory. The introduction says that the book is limited to an examination of the doctor as a member of society. Yet it ignores the influences which make society what it is.

Doctors and Patients

What position does the doctor hold in society? Although most of them would not concede it, they are members of the working class, compelled at times to defend their material interests. Twice during the past 50 years—in the National Insurance Bill of 1911 and the National Health Bill of 1948—the government has imposed changes on the doctors' working conditions. On each occasion, amongst the clouds of nonsense which they talked, the medical men could be described resisting anything which they thought would lower their standards. Mr. Turner recalls the words of one doctor who opposed the 1911 Bill: "... we have a commodity . . . and we are practically monopolists of that commodity . . . are we going to demand a fair price for our services?" No shop steward could have put it better.

And the patients? Mr. Turner says, on the old Poor Law days,

Among these were consumptives in crowded dwellings or sunless valleys, and workmen discarded by the industrial machine with their inner economy wrecked. What they needed was what no doctor could supply: food, fresh air, decent houses. All the practitioners could do was palliate their lot or give them illusory hope with bottles of cheap medicine.

Nowadays we are all on the National Health and some of the diseases which took their toll in the Poor Law times have been suppressed. But others have taken their place and always the effort to cure them is complicated by the fact that the majority of patients are compelled to work for their living.

Overwhelming Question

If, after the centuries of trials and spectacular errors which this book relates, the medical men are at last getting to grips with their problems, we are left with one overwhelming question. How much more effective would they be, in a world free from social disease?

IVAN.

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

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The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

MEETINGS

GLASGOW DEBATE

"Socialism v. Liberalism"

Monday, June 15th, 7.30 p.m.

Community Centre, Bellshill, Lanarkshire

For SPGB—J. Higgins.

For Liberals—Rev. P. M. Barker (Chairman of Lanarkshire Liberal Association).

*

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Public Meeting, Co-op Hall, 197 Mare Street, E.8.

Monday, June 15th, 8 p.m.

"Nuclear Weapons and the Threat of War"

C. May, J. Read.

*

CAMBERWELL BRANCH

Lecture—52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4

Monday, June 29th, 8 p.m.

"Current Trends in Soviet Capitalism"

E. Willmott

*

LEWISHAM BRANCH

Lectures—Davenport House, Davenport Road, Catford

Monday, June 15th, 8 p.m.

"Living Standards — Up or Down," J. D'Arcy

Monday, June 29th 8 p.m.

"The Catholic Church," R. Coster

*

DARTFORD BRANCH

Discussion—Labour Club, Lowfield Street, Dartford

Friday, June 12th, 8 p.m.

"African Conflict," P. Lawrence

*

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	June 7th and 28th	11 a.m.
Thursdays	June 14th and 21st	12.30 p.m.
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Fridays	Tower Hill	12.30—2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.

*

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings and evenings.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence: Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (June 4 and 18) in month 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. Fridays, 8 p.m. sharp, Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (June 12th) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (June 4 and 18) in month 8 p.m., Wilcox, 668 Fulham Road, S.W.6 (nr. Munster Road). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (June 3 and 17), 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (June 1, 15 and 29) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (June 3 and 17) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushley Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (June 2), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (June 16), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (June 12 and 26) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol. Tel.: Bri 24680.

CHELTEMHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DUNDEE. Enquiries: W. Elphinstone, 10 Benzie Road.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries: A. Hollingshead, 39 Leamington Terrace.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arncliffe Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. 3rd Tuesday (June 16) in month, 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL & REIGATE. Enquiries: C. E. Smith, 88 Chart Lane, Reigate.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

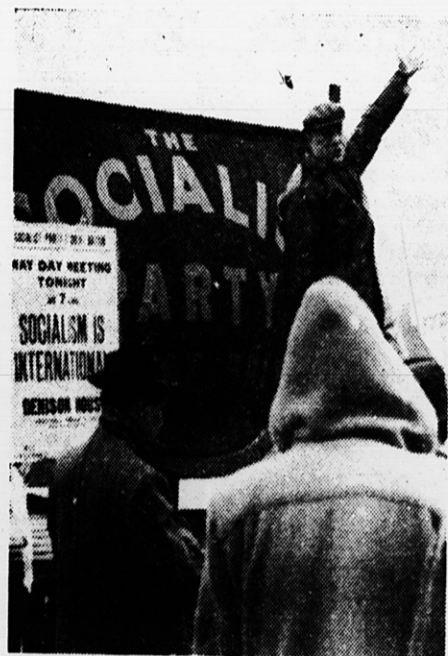
SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelly, Glam.

... from the Branches



MAY DAY IN THE RAIN

RAIN! Rain! Rain! That was Hyde Park on May Day 1959. Nevertheless, over fifty optimistic Comrades rallied to the demonstration to sell literature and support the platform. In the Park itself, despite the weather, a large audience was soon grouped about the Party's platform,



where Comrades Ambridge, D'Arcy and Young spoke on the significance of May Day. Large posters were displayed advertising the evening meeting held at Denison House, which was an encouraging success, with more literature sold and a good collection. The front cover of the *Socialist Standard* had well indicated the debasement of May Day. Union Jacks and Nationalist slogans were displayed in the procession.—The title of our meeting—"SOCIALISM IS INTERNATIONAL." Let May Day 1960 be Brighter and Better.

ISLINGTON

report that their canvassing efforts have resulted in the sale of FORTY DOZEN "STANDARDS" for May. More power to their elbows!

MANCHESTER

ON May 1st Manchester Comrades covered a large meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the

Free Trade Hall, where Bertrand Russell seemed to have benefited by the Party's persistent efforts. He stressed that it was not enough to merely seek International agreement on the banning of "H" bombs, but that we should grapple with the problem of war itself.

HACKNEY

As part of the Pre-Election campaign in the constituency of Bethnal Green and Hackney South, two successful indoor meetings were held, the titles being—"The Alternative to the Labour Party" and "You've Never Had It So Good." The meetings were well supported and a number of new faces were in evidence. A further meeting entitled "Nuclear Weapons and the Threat of War" has been arranged and is advertised in this issue.

The Branch had three candidates in the Borough Council Election in the triangle ward of Hackney. Considerable interest was aroused, both in the Press and elsewhere, although our Comrades were not elected this time!

EALING

MEMBERS are asked to note that there will be a special trip to Southsea on Sunday 21st June, to hold a propaganda meeting. Those wishing to make the trip are asked to notify the Branch Secretary as early as possible. Meet at Ealing Town Hall at 9 a.m.

The support of all members is specially requested for the outdoor meetings at Gloucester Road, beginning Thursday 4th June and continuing every Thursday afterwards. The meetings are timed to start at 8 p.m.

There are only a few seats left on the coach for the Branch trip to Eastbourne on Sunday 14th June (not 13th as announced last month). All members wanting seats are asked to contact Comrade R. Critchfield. Price 12s. for adults and 6s. for children.

P. H.

"Fifty Years Ago"

BERT ATKIN

THE "GREAT MAN" FALLACY

WHEN I read the history of Greece I am not impressed by the oratory of Demosthenes or the statesmanship of Pericles. But I note that Corinth alone contained slaves by the thousand dozen, and I ask: what was the economic condition of this class? What did they know of science or art or literature? Dickens has spoken of men and women who all go in and out at the same hours, to do the same work; people to whom every day is the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next. These are the people history should speak to us about, and not the depraved *parvenus* and braggart buffoons of royal descent. Then I say to every working man and woman: before you read the life of Cicero or Aristotle or Julius Caesar; before you become immersed in trivial biography, study well the conditions of life and labour of your social ancestors in Greece, in Rome, in the Middle ages. The proper study of a working man is working class conditions.

SOCIALIST STANDARD, June 1909

It is a sad duty for members to have to report the death of a fellow comrade. We regret to learn of the death of our Comrade Bert Atkin of Manchester. Joining the Manchester Branch in 1914, Comrade Atkin was an active member until the branch dissolved in the Twenties. He worked constantly for the Party and in 1927 or thereabouts, he was instrumental in reforming the Branch which then became one of the most active and lively branches in the Party. Comrade Atkin in his time was Branch Treasurer, Organiser and on many occasions was a delegate to Annual Conferences. He lived for the Party and for all it stands for, and was most happy when associating with fellow Comrades. Owing to ill health he was obliged to retire from active work in the Party, but his enthusiasm never failed. We extend to Comrade Mrs. Atkin and her family our sincere sympathy.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

In such a world as this, full of tensions and resentments, race prejudice can explode as suddenly as a bomb, erupting into shrieking mob-violence

Race & Violence

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WITH the recent murder of a coloured man in Notting Hill, race-prejudice has once more become a subject of public interest. It is not possible to say at this stage whether or not Kelso Cochrane died as a result of racial hatred.

What can be said is that passions, hatred and sympathies have been aroused. A large crowd of mourners, both white and black, followed Cochrane's coffin through the streets. Many organisations have had their say about Notting-Hill; some of them, such as the Union Movement, propagating racial discrimination. There is no doubt that the Union Movement is anti-coloured, and rabidly so. It considers that this country should be reserved for Englishmen. This is a "one way only" policy however. Not so many years ago a main plank in Mosley's platform was the intensive economic development of British Africa; for the benefit of the British, of course. "Keep out the coloureds" does not mean keeping the Pinks out of South Africa, Kenya or Nyasaland. The left-wing too, have been having their little stir. They, poor souls, are in a bit of a quandary, for the Labour Government's record does not look particularly attractive. The imprisonment of Nkrumah and the banishment of Seretse Khama must make the collection of coloured people's votes a rather difficult matter. There are, too, plenty of advocates in the Labour Party for the policy of restricting or excluding immigrants. The supporters of such views, to be logical, should exclude or restrict the movement of anybody going anywhere to look for jobs.

One form of violence has been put down officially, and with an iron hand. There are other forms of highly discriminatory violence that are encouraged, and financed with millions of dollars, pounds and roubles. Young men at Cape Canaveral in Florida, with considerable academic, scientific and technical qualifications, are busy getting

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

ready to be very violent indeed. They are engaged in the assembly and launching of rockets that may one day destroy whole cities. The crimes against humanity planned here (and in every other weapons-development centre in the world) make the coshings and brawlings of the "Teds" look like nursery-play. Evidently people can be as violent and as discriminatory as they please—at the right place and time and against the wrong people.

The evidence shows that there is no basis whatsoever for thinking one racial or national group inferior to another; and in fact scientists even have difficulty in defining what is meant by "race." We are one species, one people, and there is no reason why all people should not live in harmony. This will take a bit of organising but it is where we take our stand. We must organise together to throw off the shackles of class-domination. We are against racialism, nationalism and any other form of persecution and prejudice whatsoever. We want a world of human beings aware of their humanity, in place of a world of rocket-launchers and bomb-throwers. "Racialism" and "Nationalism" are social products, and will disappear along with the bomb-throwing society which gives rise to them.

The Scapegoats

Life is unsatisfactory, not only for those on the bottom rungs of the social ladder, but for those who have climbed rather higher as well; it is so much more painful if you fall. Many people, looking round for a scapegoat to blame for all their troubles, fix on the West Indian, Jew or other "outsider." The West Indian, being rather distinctive both in colour and culture, makes a particularly choice victim. But bad housing has always been a feature of capitalism, it existed long before the recent influx of West Indians. The West Indian is in the same rotten boat as ourselves. He came here because poverty in the West Indies is particularly bad. To blame him for coming here looking for a job is like blaming one's own relatives for moving to new towns and new employments in order to better themselves. There is nothing logical in this matter however, they are blamed because they work; they are also blamed because they don't. They can never do anything right. They are blamed for taking houses, they are also blamed for living in overcrowded conditions.



NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

They are blamed for "lowering the tone" of the districts in which they live. There wasn't much tone to be lowered in Brixton or Hackney, the places have been gradually falling apart for years. It is capitalism, a society that produces satellites and rockets as easy as winking that is at fault. The workers never have had enough.

Prosperous Misery

Capitalism isn't very successful at making people happy; it is not organised for that purpose, it is organised for the making of profits. Tensions and resentments are easily made, and capitalism is glad of it, particularly in time of war.

Even the "successful," the "man who is getting on," has little cause for real satisfaction. Society hasn't got much to offer except the rat-race scramble for good jobs, suburban brick boxes, bigger and better television sets, and all the thousand and one gadgets that capitalism provides as a substitute for human co-operative happiness. The "go-ahead" man usually gets there by stepping on his fellows; the "crawler" is common everywhere, despised yet surreptitiously admired. Somewhere in the struggle humanity has been forgotten; somewhere part of our sympathies and emotions has been destroyed. In such a world as this, full of tensions and resentments, race-prejudice can explode as suddenly as a bomb, erupting into shrieking mob-violence. There is always the quieter, more civilised way; the finding of mock-rational, pseudo-scientific reasons for hating other human beings. Sale and Profit have deadened our humanity, dulled our sensibilities, thwarted our progress, soured our relations with our fellows, made us into hostile, suspicious "insiders" looking out of our brick-box house or tin car at a hostile world, continuously on our guard against the menace outside.

It is not the Black Man, Pink Man or Yellow Man who is the root cause of our problems, it is our arid society; never more financially solvent, yet never more emotionally bankrupt. Wage-slavery has cut-off the world from humanity, the world is the property of someone else. Socialists want the world returned to humanity, of whatever race or colour. What is even more important, we want humans to return to humanity.

F. R. IVIMEY.

Socialism or Social Catholicism

Debate between SPGB and Roman Catholic Church

It is an extraordinary event for a representative of the Roman Catholic Church to debate in public with a Socialist. On Sunday, 10th May, however, Father Bernard Rickett, headmaster of the West Bridgeford Roman Catholic School, Notts, received the Bishop's permission to do so. Representing the Catholic attitude he debated the subject, "Socialism or Social Catholicism?" with the Socialist Party's speaker, R. Coster. The debate was attended by an audience of 78 on a sweltering afternoon at the Co-op. Educational Centre, Nottingham.

R. COSTER

Opening the debate for the Socialist Party, R. COSTER defined its scope in terms of a Catholic writer's phrase "human life and happiness," and said at once it was impossible to consider the question unless one dealt with the great problems which stood in the way of life and happiness for the great majority of humanity. War and its terrible weapons; insecurity and fear, and the recurrence of economic crises; poverty and its consequences in bad housing, a great deal of disease, crime and unhappiness; the overwhelming lack of satisfaction of people in the present-day world that produced appalling figures for mental and nervous disorders: these were the impediments to human life and happiness, and these were what had to be dealt with.

The Socialist case was that all these problems were consequences of the Capitalist organization of society. Capitalism was founded on the ownership of the means of living by a class; it meant that all productive activity was carried on solely for the motive of sale at a profit, that this commercial motivation dominated all relationships in society. It meant also that the non-owning class, the great majority, must be exploited and always more or less poor; and that the interests of these two classes were therefore irreconcilably opposed.

But Capitalism meant as well the conflicts between rival capitalist groups which led inevitably to war. It meant that from time to time, unpredictably and uncontrollably, there were crises and all the suffering which depressions brought. Parties and governments, and

philosophers and religious leaders too, had been powerless to prevent these things because Capitalism's antagonistic relations arising from division of interests over property caused them. The Socialist case, therefore, was for the abolition of this system. What was wanted was a new basis for society—the ownership by everybody of all the means of living, so that poverty, conflict and all the other barriers to decent life and happiness could no longer exist.

Could Catholicism solve all, or any, of these problems? There was no point of contact between Catholicism and Socialism; the speaker pointed to Catholic reiterations that the two were antagonistic and that private property was a natural right. The Church stood not only for Capitalism, but for a Capitalism so authoritarian that its criticisms of the Russian dictatorship could largely be applied to itself. By its defence of Capitalism, the Church acquiesced in the system which was the source of the problems.

Catholics talked about improving workers' conditions, but the living standards their Popes advocated were those of "frugal and well-behaved" workers; the rate of emigration from Ireland was no advertisement for Catholic society. On the war question, Catholic authorities were as divided and helpless as any Capitalist politicians—some opposed to nuclear weapons, some ready to justify them. The remedies for crises and exploitation advocated were childish: classes could not harmonize even at Popes' bidding, in a class-divided society, and the proposals to "lift barriers" on trade and production showed incomprehension of how Capitalism worked.

Social Catholicism had no case. The only case was for Socialism, which aimed at establishing conditions in which the problems could not arise and human life and happiness could flourish.

FATHER RICKETT

FATHER RICKETT, in his opening speech, said he was not an expert on economic and social matters; he must treat the questions raised as a theologian who had studied history. He expressed appreciation of the Socialist Party as the



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only organization professing Socialism which was logical in its arguments. The trouble with the Socialist case was that its logic, though impeccable, rested on a false premise. Its view of man's nature was incomplete and therefore incorrect. Man lived in society, but he had been created for a supernatural destiny, and the idea of Socialism was incompatible with this divine nature. Man did not live by bread alone—he had been created not for temporal but for eternal happiness, though that did not mean he had to be miserable in this world.

Man was a selfish brute, imperfect by nature, and no solution could be valid which ignored his original sin.

Catholic sociology started from the need for him to reform his own character, to curb his selfishness and be content with his station in life. Disease, work and suffering were the lot of the human race. Capitalism was largely beyond the control of the Church, which indeed was not concerned with temporal things except insofar as they related to man's salvation.

Nevertheless, Popes had strongly denounced the excesses of Capitalism and laid down for those living in it what were God's will and moral laws. Social living was the will of God. The reverse of the Class-struggle doctrine was true; capital and labour were complementary—each needed the other, and our higher standards of living today were due to large-scale enterprise and the brains and invested capital behind it. It was quite wrong to claim that the product should belong to the labourer. The Church tried to see that there was an equitable share, and laid down rules of justice for employers and employees. The employer had duties to his workmen, and the worker also must recognise moral laws in his behaviour towards the employer.

What must be sought was charity, in its sense of brotherly love and mutual support. The Catholic Church had advocated the formation of Guilds like those which existed in former times, and in these there would be not class conflict but class collaboration. Class hatred, and hatred of any kind, could never produce anything constructive.

R. COSTER

R. COSTER, in reply, summarised Father Rickett's argument as that, first, man must consider his life in relation to a life hereafter, and second, that man was innately bad, and that these two conditions put the Socialist case out of court. He submitted that the argument was,

in fact, complete irrelevant to the matter under discussion. We were talking about human life and happiness, and it was useless to make the supernatural a basis for argument to people who were not aware of it. The proposal that human society was divinely instituted was superfluous and meaningless; human society was a fact—man organized socially for survival, and had he not done so there would have been no man.

Were all the things said of man's "brutal, selfish" nature true? Nothing of the kind was known historically of human nature. The only thing known was that human nature continually altered. So did valuations of it: what was brutal and selfish in one age was heroic in another, and the Catholic Church itself had undergone this kind of societal conditioning.

Did the Church want a better world? The speaker read from a Papal Encyclical which said the world could not be better, that claims to the contrary were "lying promises." But what were the effects of the Church's laying down laws of social justice? One Encyclical had stated the duties of employers towards their employees, and Catholic employers had conspired to prevent their workpeople learning what was said in it. And this in fact underlined what Socialists said—that a class must obey, not its religious ideals, but its interests as a class.

Socialists agreed that men did not live by bread alone. The quality of living was what made happiness. But first, man's material needs must be satisfied. The conditions must be created in which man could know the enjoyment of living; that was the aim of Socialism.

FATHER RICKETT

FATHER RICKETT, replying, spoke of the tyranny which Socialism would impose. It meant that we should lose our freedom. No one could understand human nature unless he contemplated the Crucifixion; it was an aberration of mind to put it aside. Society without God was an unrealizable Utopia. There could be and there was happiness in our world:

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nothing was more lovely to behold than a little Catholic home with its many children.

It was not mere egalitarian distribution that mattered. The Church wanted to see men make the best of the existing order, and within that order better distribution had been obtained. The Church had encouraged workers to organize in trade unions and stand up to Capital. On the question of the great problems, obviously insecurity and injustice were parts of the natural order. War was hateful and the Church would never support it—but it must be realized that some things were worse than war.

What had been said about Catholic employers was true, but they would suffer in eternity for it; their action was an instance of original sin. The Church's mission was to see that life as it was organized here below was not incompatible with the destiny of man. Nowhere had working people a better friend than the Catholic Church.

FATHER RICKETT

After a short period in which questions were asked and contributions to discussion made by members of the audience, FATHER RICKETT made his summing-up speech. He said that the Catholic Church was much misunderstood by people; one either loved it or hated it. The idea of the classless society was unreal. It had never been depicted, and could only be achieved if we were all angels. Marx's arguments left much unexplained: heaven help us, the speaker said, if the right of property were not safeguarded. This right was precious to all of us in our daily lives, in our homes and in preserving our possessions. It protected the small man trying to advance his business or his career. Capitalism would pass away and some other social order replace it, but the Church would remain.

R. COSTER

R. COSTER, concluding for the Socialist Party, said that Father Rickett had completely evaded the issue of the debate.

(continued bottom next page)

**The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

To the Editor



How do Men Make History?

IN his article entitled "An Essay on Historical Materialism" (May S.S.) E.W. tells us that generically speaking man makes history. Now, if this be so, man must be held responsible for the history he makes, for we cannot logically compare man living in a society with a tree existing in a wood, meaning by that of course that the tree is not responsible for itself as a tree, whereas man is responsible for himself and his actions as a man. And although man did not consciously will himself into society and history, it is still nevertheless true that society and history could not operate independent of the will of man.

However, according to Karl Marx, this is not so, for he claimed that history is governed by laws which operate independent of the will of man. And this view of his contradicts the view of men being able to make their own history. For if history is governed by inexorable laws, man cannot will these laws out of existence and create new ones, seeing that these laws operate independent of will. But if we accepted this view we would need to believe that history willed man, instead of history being willed by man. It is true, of course, that the individual born into capitalist society did not will

capitalism, but nevertheless capitalism does not operate independent of men's wills. Marx's theory of history is therefore wrong, and, in fact, a contradiction in terms, seeing that all human history is the outcome of what men willed, and not of any mysterious laws operating independent of will.

Capitalistic exploitation of the working class does not operate independent of the wills of the capitalists, but rather, on the contrary, because they consciously will to exploit the working class.

Marx thought that he discovered the key to history, but had he lived long enough he would have found out that there is no key to history at all. And in regard to the will of individuals which he did not take into consideration, he would have found out that they have not only the power to create history, but have even the power to destroy the world.

R. SMITH, Dundee.

REPLY

THE writer asserts, without evidence, that Marx believed history to be an impersonal force, operating independent of men's wills. Actually, Marx said, all historical change is brought about by men's ideas. They are not, however, just the outcome of purely mental processes but responses to a concrete social situation arising from urgent class needs and the task of actualising them. All major changes he shows are periods of intense theoretical and intellectual activity. The battle of material interests is also the battle of ideas. "History," says Marx, "is not something apart from men, it is the activity of man in pursuit of his ends." This makes nonsense of the writer's remarks.

The writer vaguely refers to history

(Socialism or Catholicism continued)

The questions put had not been answered. It was claimed that the Catholic Church stood aside from politics; in fact, the Church's record showed a great deal of political activity not advantageous to working people. To say that Socialism would take away freedom was untrue and, for the Church, unfortunate; the Concordat between Spain and the Church, for example, had stripped the Spanish worker of every kind of freedom. As for happiness, the "lovely" Catholic home was frequently a squalid, overcrowded place. As for war being hateful, in this century Catholic authorities had repeatedly advocated the suppression of heresies by violence.

The whole conception of property as a right was mistaken. The capitalist class had known no right but might: by force and every other means they had secured their ownership, and established the legal and moral titles—the "right"—to it afterwards. At no point had Father Rickett shown why Socialism was "unrealizable." All that was needed for its realization was understanding, and this was the enemy of Catholicism. Cardinal Manning had once said: "I do not have to think for myself. The Pope does my thinking for me." But Socialism had everything to offer of human life and happiness, and to think for oneself was to hold the key to it.

F. JAMES.

being willed by individuals. Historically men have willed all sorts of things but what men have striven for and what has actually transpired has so often shown great discrepancies. In social development there are no ends not willed by men but these ends are not realised merely because men willed them. Even in the contemporary situation men have sought perpetual prosperity, eternal peace, harmony between all men, etc. It is not the will that has been lacking but the conditions essential for their fulfilment.

It is true that capitalists have the power to exploit workers or, to use the writer's curious phrase, consciously will exploitation. But class ownership backed by the State power are its indispensable pre-requisites. Only when these conditions are fulfilled can the will to exploit become effective. Again the absence of certain conditions made Socialism impossible 500 years ago. Today the consequences of capitalist production not only explain why the need for Socialism arises but why the presence of certain objective conditions make it possible to will its effective realisation. What is willed must then be compatible with a discovered situation which is not willed but accepted. When it is willed must be dependent on the objective possibilities in the situation. Only in this light does the action of men become intelligible, and why the ideas of some men and groups of men have failed and others succeeded.

The writer says history has no key. In that case he himself cannot talk meaningfully about it. Where facts and events are not known, where nothing is known, then we have blind determinism, where there is no knowledge of facts and processes there is no freedom. Genuine freedom like will is not something arbitrary or uncontrolled, but based on an appraisal of the objective possibilities in a given situation. Only when what is necessary is known can effective action be taken. When men do not grasp the necessities of a situation, effective action loses its freedom. It was no other than Marx and Engels who tirelessly expounded this to the working class. This is the key to Marx's conception of social purpose.

E. W.

CORRESPONDENCE

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

THE ETHICS OF MARXISM (2)

Ends and Means

ONE of the difficulties of Mr. Taylor's pamphlet, *Is Marxism a Humanism?** is that he never seems quite sure of what he means to say and consequently we are not quite sure that he is saying what he means. His indulgence—one might say over-indulgence—in dialectical and philosophical jargon adds to the difficulty.

A conclusion he reaches, if one can say he does anything so definite as that, is that Stalinism is a distortion of Marxism but nevertheless there are elements in Marxism which lend itself to this distortion. The class morality of Marxism, he contends, is defective. Negatively it assumes a mechanistic and amoral approach for the sake of the struggle. Positively, and this is the more truly Marxist view, he further adds, its goal, which is a socialised humanity, is in conflict with its own attitudes of hatred to those who oppose or refuse to associate themselves with Marxist doctrine.

It is true that the debased political morality of communists include hard lying and physical and moral liquidation, and that "the end justifies the means" is integral to the Communist ethic. But this cannot be inferred from any elements in Marxist political doctrine. Marx never suggested the personal liquidation of capitalists. Neither did he adumbrate in any way, hatred of capitalists as a political tactic. Hate, to be effective, must to a very large extent be personified. That, and the attributing of motives to individuals, has been an important part of communist propaganda technique. Against this, Marxism as a social theory has, perhaps less than any other social theory, made motives an integral part of its doctrine. Indeed it was no other than Marx himself who stated in the preface to the first edition of *Capital*:

To prevent possible misunderstanding, a word. I paint the capitalist and landlord in no sense, *coulour de rose*. But here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests. My standpoint, from which the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.

For Marx it was not the negative emotion of hate but the positive value of moral indignation which constitutes the dynamic of the Marxist ethic. ○

Love and Hate

As Marxists we do not hate those who are opposed to us. We do not even make bad intent or insincerity the basis of our evaluation of their ideas. It is the logic and claims of their views which we rigorously and con-

* Continuation of Review in June Socialist Standard

sistently oppose. Not to do so would be a highly unethical practice.

But although hate is not and has never been part of our ethic, we do not share Mr. Taylor's view which enjoins everybody to love everybody. Love and hate are not, as Mr. Taylor seems to think, abstract categories. It is only in a given historical context that it becomes possible to give them an ethical evaluation. Love, like any other sentiment, is a question of human relations whether it arises from sex, friendship, or mutual service and co-operation. In the vast impersonal organisation of capitalist production, where the ruling motive is ruling class profit, the impulse for genuine co-operative effort and mutual service finds no adequate human outlet. One cannot even talk about love as a positive social value between men and men in a world of buyers and sellers and where the buying and selling of men's productive capacities is the major social transaction out of which accrues private gain and advantage. Man it is true does not live by bread alone but he cannot live as truly man in a world of commodity production where the relations between men take on the aspect of relations between things.

Impoverishment

Perhaps history's greatest indictment of capitalism will not be what it has done to men economically but what it has done to them emotionally. No other social organisation has so impoverished man of his rich many-sided endowments. In the historic development of its private property relations and institutions, it has progressively stolen from human nature its powers and thoughts, tenderness and affections.

Little wonder that such deprivation made men emotionally susceptible to the fierce hates of nationalism, anti-semitism and race prejudice. That is why when Mr. Taylor talks of dealing with race-prejudice on its own terms, he fails to see that the division of labour which alienates man from his full productive and intellectual capacities and from others of his kind, makes him a means instead of an end to the productive process with all the anti-social consequences which follow. Race prejudice, like other social prejudices, is not an isolated thing which can be treated on its own terms. Capitalism produces a vast range of prejudices which feed into each other. Given a system which offers no full development of men's productive powers and their mental, aesthetic and emotional corollaries, little wonder that unfulfilled personal development, finds compensatory outlets which often take on an anti-social character.

To call upon men to practice tolerance, goodwill and love as Mr. Taylor suggests is to utter hollow abstractions, in a world of class conflicts, national rivalries and hatred where subterfuge, chicanery and power politics are the normal way of conducting world affairs. Like the Christian's "God is Love" it is inhuman because in existing society it has no human roots.

That is why the sugary piety of abstract ethics which claim to transcend all social conflicts, serves to veil the objective nature of social reality. For that reason it is delusory, deceptive and dangerous.

Even when dealing with hatred and violence it is impossible to say, when considered in the abstract, whether they are good or bad. For one cannot say what hate or violence is in the abstract. These things, like love, can only be evaluated in a social context. Thus if people were being oppressed by a rapacious minority, hate for the oppressors would be a normal and human emotion. To love their oppressors would be an abnormal and inhuman feeling. If anyone suggested that love, non-violence and humility were the only answer to the social situation, it would be a servile and bad viewpoint. Such a viewpoint, however has always enjoyed considerable favour in the Christian ethics. If, on the other hand, hatred born of oppression produced violence, of a degree that led to a relaxation of oppression, then the means would have been consistent with the end, i.e. a lessening of the yoke of servitude.

The Marxist does not advocate violence or hatred because they are inconsistent with the end in view—a classless society of free labour and production for use.

The end itself, however, determines the means.

Ends and Means

The function of the means is to overcome the obstacles which separate us from the end. Thus the real significance of any goal can only be understood in relation to the means necessary to attain it. An intelligent choice of ends can only be made when the consequence of the use of our means has been taken into consideration. If the end is a classless society consciously brought into being by the vast majority, then the means can only be helping to bring this consciousness to the required maturity. Hate and violence are in this context inconsistent with these ends. To substitute them as means would mean to change the ends. That there can be no basic separation of ends and means is integral to Marx's doctrines.

Mr. Taylor's second point is what about those social elements who would have no share in a socialist society and against whom recriminatory methods would be adopted? This, he argues, is consistent with Marx's doctrine. One can only say, and this was also the view of Marx, that no one would be excluded from freely participating in socialist production. Neither did Marx say that certain social elements would be proceeded against in the event of the social revolution forthwith. He did say, and at that time there were pretty good reasons for so saying, that counter-revolutionary action would, in the interest of the vast majority, have to be vigorously dealt with, and that is quite compatible with democratic procedure.

But this is where we came in. Mr. Taylor never discusses Socialism at the Marxist level or indeed at any level. For him Russia remains the archetype of the social revolution. He appears to think that Socialism à la Communist and Trotskyist will be directed by an elite—social engineers who will blue print and shape the raw human potential into the manufactured Socialist article. On such premises, Mr. Taylor goes in for a lot of soul-searching as to what might happen to this raw material in the manufacturing process, and he discovers that it falls short of a true humanism. But his dilemma has no basis in Marx or Marxism, it is rooted in his own assumptions.

Socialism

Socialist society cannot begin until the vast majority of the dispossessed realise that capitalist property relations and the division of labour which arises from it are the real barriers which hamper and frustrate the development of the individual in the widest sense, out of the energising of their knowledge and experience they will act accordingly. Mr. Taylor is wrong when he thinks that Marxists, along with Marx, hold that the basic thing is the overthrow of capitalist relations and the devil take the hindmost. In a fundamental sense, the abolition of capitalist property relations is merely the necessary condition which makes possible the releasing of men's energies, capacities and will to re-integrate themselves in the new society.

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But there will be no enlightened few, politically and economically directing the uninitiated many, because the many will have gained the social experience to direct society along the path it wishes it to go. There may be in the building of socialist society much to learn, and some things to unlearn. One thing history will have taught, however, is that love, goodwill, the rights of the individual, can only have real meaning in an equalitarian and humanist society.

The Rights of Man

Mr. Taylor's concern for the individual seems to spring from the idealisation of the rights of man, as put forward by Kant and others. But the rights of man, no matter how idealistically they are framed, can never in a truly human sense be realised in capitalist society; only a socialist society can make the individual free, and this becomes possible because, in the self-conscious act of abolishing itself as a class, it abolishes all other classes. Thus, it makes possible a reversal of the historic process. In all previous epochs the individual can only assert himself through a social class. But the working class has no interests in asserting itself as a class. Their only interest is to abolish classes and become classless individuals whose free association constitutes socialistic humanity. Only in and through socialism will the individual truly come into his own. Freedom of the individual constitutes the social, one might say the moral basis of socialist society; as such it will be an enduring element in all further social development.

In spite of Mr. Taylor's wanting to fight for colonial freedom, his main position, in ambivalent contrast to these vague phrases, seems to be the advocacy of the classless ethics of Kant and Christ. We shall in another issue examine the social validity of such ethics and the place of ethics in the Marxist scheme of things and his assertion that there are more fundamental cleavages in society than class division.

E. W.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The SOCIALIST PARTY needs money urgently for the General Election.

The work is going on NOW. Every week, we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

A Challenge to Trade Unions

RANKING with football, cricket, and racing, one of the British national pastimes is baiting the trade unions. Along with editors, journalists, and angry writers of letters to the Press, it is played by comedians, parsons, radio and T.V. commentators and politicians, and is always good for a laugh or a sneer. It is an easy game to play because, to an outsider, trade union behaviour often looks anti-social or ridiculous and trade union replies, when not suppressed, are frequently ineffective. The attacks often get a sympathetic hearing among workers not in unions and even, on occasions, among other trade unionists.

It does indeed look absurd that rival unions should strike over the question which union should control the boring of holes or the handling of a chalked string to mark out work. And trade unions appear stupid and reactionary when they resist the employment of women or foreign workers or when coal miners call on the Government to prevent the use of oil as fuel, and railwaymen demand restrictions on road transport.

Members of Unions resent being criticised and complain that their side of the case rarely gets a fair presentation. They say that from the standpoint of the workers concerned, their actions are logical and necessary.

What is this necessity? It flows from the purpose for which trade unions are formed. A trade union is not formed to help the employers' customers or the workers in general but to serve the interest of its own members in their own particular job. Miners, railwaymen, printers and others are trying to get as high a wage as they can and are trying to keep their jobs. If in so doing they inflict incidental hardship on other workers or find themselves advocating restrictions on the growth of new industries that compete with the one they live by, that, they say is forced on them, and anyway this is how everyone else behaves in our competitive society.

From some loftier viewpoint of human ethics the trade union attitude may appear selfish and futile but the general body of critics are not at all in a position to throw stones, for they are all of them defenders of that social system which is itself a crazy jungle of contradictions. Nothing

that trade union members do in trying to defend their immediate interests can equal the selfish policies of governments and employers about the problems of production and employment. What could be more anti-social than the accepted principle of our world that if the workers in a particular industry produce more than can be sold at a profit, they should be specially penalised by being thrown out of work? And on top of that, to have their intelligence insulted by being told, as the *Manchester Guardian* (28. 5. 59) tells them, that "Nobody wants" the coal, when of course there are millions of people who "want" the coal but cannot afford to buy it.

Trade unionists have long been aware that to go on separately fighting their battles over their own wages and jobs is not enough: hence the formation of the T.U.C. and the backing they give to the Labour Party; and the thousands of resolutions, mostly pious, proposed at trade union conferences on everything from H bombs to the payment of wages by cheque. But these activities, too, have left untouched the problem that the worker's life is an endless struggle to keep himself from being submerged by forces which he cannot control by the means he uses.

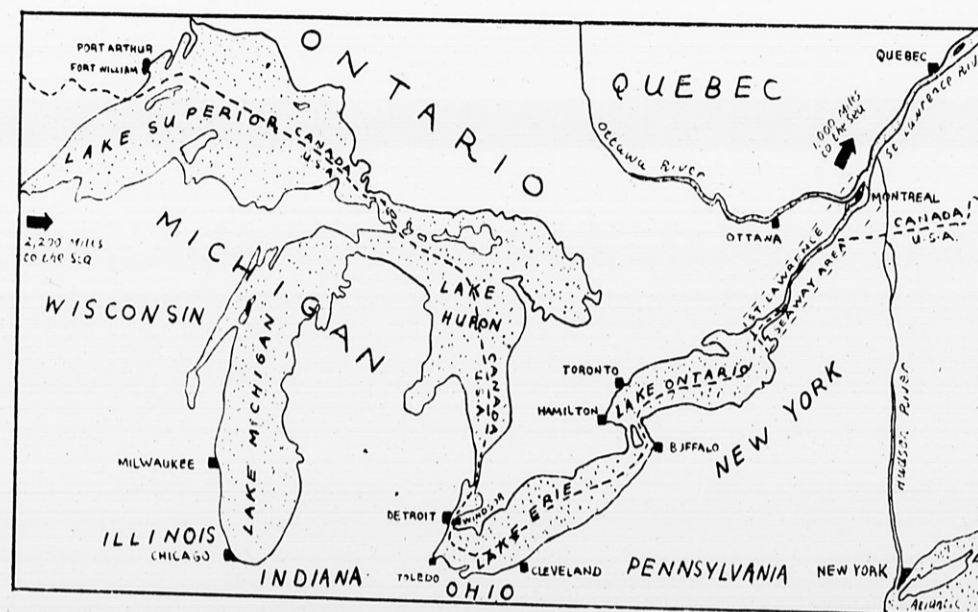
We too are critics, though with real justification, for we are neither hostile nor two-faced in our attitude to trade unions. We accept that they are a necessary weapon for the workers' self defence under capitalism. Our criticism is on a different footing.

We ask trade unionists (and all workers) to realise the limited usefulness of going on indefinitely fighting the effects of capitalism. We ask them to accept that the whole basis of capitalism needs to be challenged and that this challenge must come from the working class—not from separate groups of trade unionists organised merely to defend their group interest, but from a working class which recognises the common interest of all workers in all countries. First their common interest in opposing employers and governments everywhere, and more importantly their common interest in getting rid of capitalism and establishing Socialism.

There is no future in merely struggling over wages and jobs, and no future in electing a Labour Government to perpetuate under different labels the same class-divided system of society.

But there is a future in seeking the abolition of capitalism and its wages system. The social arrangement by which one class (with the backing of governments) owns the factories and plants and means of transport and employs the working class for wages, is not something pre-ordained for all time. It is a phase in the development of human society and one for which there is no longer any need or justification. Trade-unionists, separately or together, and with or without a Labour Government, cannot make this arrangement function in their interest as workers, as many trade-unionists are already learning through frustrating experience. It is for those who are becoming aware of this to accept the further responsibility of thinking about the case the Socialist Party puts before them. This is the only fruitful line of advance.

The Opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway



ON April 25th last, the Canadian Government ice-breaker *D'Iberville* moved into the locks opposite Montreal. Behind her were scores of other craft, decorated with bunting; helicopters were buzzing overhead and on the shores were hundreds of people who had got up early to watch the start of her voyage. For this was not only the end of the ice-bound winter season for Montreal; it was also the first journey into the recently completed St. Lawrence Seaway.

Opposition

At the formal opening ceremony last month, nobody wanted to mention the embarrassing fact that, but for the opposition of the railroad interests in the U.S.A., the Seaway would have been built long before now. These interests, with the Canadian East Coast Ports of St. John and Halifax, feared the competition which the Seaway would offer, with its cheap transport from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes. Since the 1920's, various Canadian Governments have wanted to go ahead with the project, but could not persuade the United States to co-operate. Finally, in 1951, the Canadians declared their intention of building the Seaway on their own. This forced the hand of the United States railway lobby, who did not want the Seaway—if it had to be built—to be completely beyond the influence of Washington. Even so, they insisted that tolls should be imposed on all craft using it; something the Canadian Government, which is traditionally opposed to canal tolls, found hard to swallow. Work started in 1954.

The Seaway is designed eventually to overcome the 602 feet difference in water level between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes. Most of this is concentrated between Lake Erie and Montreal; here we have some famous rapids and falls, the most spectacular of them at Niagara. These rapids have been an obstacle since the earliest days of exploration. In 1536, Jacques Cartier (who is credited

with the discovery of the St. Lawrence River) was checked by the Lachine Rapids and in 1603 Samuel De Champlain was also held up near the same point. In the 18th century a one-foot canal was dug which allowed the small trading canoes to by-pass the rapids. Over the years this was deepened until in 1821 there was five feet of water available. Towards the end of the 19th century locks were built and the canals further deepened so that vessels lying 14 feet into the water could pass.

This system stayed until work was started on the Seaway, which is a series of 27 feet deep locks and canals from Lachine to Kingston, at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Most of the merchant ships afloat can use it, being lifted more than 200 feet above sea level in the process. In addition, the Seaway Authority's powers extend to the Welland Ship Canal, which connects Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and by-passes the Niagara Falls. Since 1932, the Welland Canal has been at least 25 feet deep; now it has been dredged to 27 feet. As a result, ships of up to 8,000 tons can sail from the Atlantic to Lake Erie—and, when canals connecting the other Lakes have also been dredged to 27 feet, to the farthest end of Lake Superior. A number of power dams have also been built, which will supply millions of kilowatts of hydro-electric power. The total cost was about £405 million, split between the Canadian and United States Governments.

Steel and Wheat

The territory around the Great Lakes contains about 40 per cent. of the population of the United States and Canada and some of the best agricultural land and richest industry in the whole of North America. The optimists reckon on about 40 million tons of cargo a year coming from these areas through the Seaway to the Atlantic. There is evidence that the Seaway was primarily intended as an economic stimulant and not as an aid to shipping, for only one third of the total cost was spent on

navigational aids, the remainder going on the hydro-electric schemes. Indeed, the Seaway should do a lot to revive the Steel industry of the Middle West, whose resources of iron ore from the nearby Mesabi Range were almost exhausted during the war. Plans were being laid to move the steel mills to the east coast, within easy reach of ore from Venezuela and the recently opened fields in Labrador. Now the ore will travel conveniently and cheaply from Labrador through the Seaway—and the Steel works should stay put. According to *The Economist* of 25th April, it was the steel men's support of the Seaway which made the U.S.A. Congress realise that they would also have to agree to it.

The Wheat trade will also be affected. Up to now, grain from Fort William and Port Arthur—at the western end of Lake Superior—has been shipped as far east as possible by vessels called "Lakers"—which, although they could sail freely over the lakes, were prevented by the shallow canals from moving past Lake Ontario. The grain was then loaded into smaller vessels to be taken to ports nearer the Atlantic and transferred to the ocean-going steamers. Now, the "Lakers" may sail direct to the Labrador port of Seven Islands to unload their grain, replacing it with iron ore for the return journey. Another possibility is that the grain may be shipped direct from Port Arthur and Fort William to Europe, sailing past Buffalo, Montreal and other ports which have prospered on the traffic. The Canadian Wheat Board expects that this will reduce the cost of freight by about 5 cents a bushell; in an effort to keep the grain trade, the ports have started a programme of capital investment. Montreal alone is to spend nearly £10 million on its grain elevator system, £6 million on wharves and £1½ million on transit sheds.

Railways and Steamships

The Canadian railway system was in part developed on the assumption that ocean going ships would never get any farther up the St. Lawrence than Montreal. As a result, an intricate railway network now links the St. Lawrence and east coast ports with the interior. Rail freight charges are high and, to capture some of the traffic, the Fjell-Oranje Line in 1932 opened a regular service of small steamers direct from Europe to such ports as Toronto and Cleveland. This line has no interest in any inland freight system in Canada, and so could concentrate on a cheap steamship service. But organisations like the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has large investments in both steamships and railways, could hardly be expected to promote the cheaper steamship service to the Lakes at the expense of its railroads. Development of the direct Great Lakes service was therefore neglected, whilst the railways and the east coast ports also strenuously opposed the even greater threat of the Seaway.

After the second world war however, more shipping companies began services from Europe to the Great Lakes and in 1956 the two great transatlantic companies—Cunard and Canadian Pacific—had to open their own service, with boats on charter from a German company.

Now nearly 30 lines offer a regular service and without enough cargo to fill their holds, they are in fierce competition. The Seaway has sharpened the struggle; new steamers are being specially built and a freight war has broken out between the combine (they call it a "Conference")—which includes companies like Cunard, Canadian Pacific and Furness Withy—and the rest. The Canadian and United States railway companies have joined this war and have forecast all round reductions in freight rates. The governments may also step in with some subsidies.

Uncertain Outlook

The future, as usual, is uncertain. There is considerable congestion at some points of the Seaway, particularly the Welland Canal, which now takes nearly twice as long to navigate as it did 20 years ago. Again, the St. Lawrence River is closed by ice for about 5 months of the year—ice which can form so quickly that sometimes ocean-going ships are trapped upstream. The Seaway means that the shipping companies must maintain an organisation at the Atlantic ports for the winter and one at the Great Lakes for the Summer. Many of them fear that this will cost more than anything they might save by using the Seaway. For several years they may have to absorb considerable losses and possibly reduce their services.

If there is a general cargo boom and if the railroad and steamship companies can sort out their differences and agree on an attractive combined rate, the Seaway will certainly prosper. These are big "ifs"; the whole thing was conceived, obstructed and finally built in a tug-of-war between interests wanting to realise a profit on their investments. In this crazy world, that is the measure by which the St. Lawrence Seaway will be judged.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

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Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin, Eire
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World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass., U.S.A.

Human Needs

THE question is often asked, "What would life be like under Socialism?" If we can't say precisely what it will be like, we can at least say what it will not be like. We can say it will be production for use, which means there will be no buying and selling and consequently no high pressure advertising, no costly and frenzied attempts to get people to buy this or that. It won't be a veneer society covering the sham and the shoddy. Only the best will be good enough in Socialist production.

Before people can pursue any cultural activities their basic needs, food, clothing and shelter, must be met. Different societies have different needs depending on the level they have reached. Thus, Feudalism, based upon agriculture and individual handicraft, meant that cars, television, jet planes, etc., were not only impossible, but unthinkable. These things presuppose all the scientific and technical development necessary to their production. The development of Capitalism brings with it new techniques and new methods of production that generate new needs. Mass production demands mass sales. Large-scale industry, for example, needs large-scale transport for its distribution and finds its logical extension in jet planes. Mass entertainment, from the music hall to the cinema and radio, finds its extension in television.

This may appear as though techniques were made to measure or as if some ready-made, overall, technology were just waiting to be taken off the scientific clothes' peg. It is not quite as mechanical as this. What we can say is that there is a never-ending cycle of discovery and investigation. New discoveries give rise to new fields of investigation that require specialisation and new techniques. And, like oil in the earth, they are just waiting to be tapped.

The historical conditions that gave rise to commodity production, the production of things for sale and profit, produced also the necessary new techniques. Large-scale, power-motivated industry grew up, based on mass production and from this flowed the mass advertising and the constant pressure to buy, buy, hammered into us with unchanging regularity. One could say that in capitalist society, nothing is bought, everything is sold.

Needs

Our needs are largely conditioned by the kind of society into which we are born. We satisfy our needs by buying things or services. To get the money, the majority of us, as wage workers, have to sell our energy and skill to someone prepared to make use of them. Wages approximate to what is required to keep the worker to a standard of working efficiency. Since profit is the motive of the Capitalist, he pays the worker less than the value of his product. Profit is unpaid labour, the difference between what the worker receives in his wage packet and the value of what he has produced. The Capitalist must turn into money this unpaid labour or profit on the market, hence the enormous growth of advertising and selling agencies. In America, the country of capitalism *par excellence*, advertising has reached a turnover involving 9,000 million dollars and we are told by statisticians that if this trend continues, by 1965 the figure will reach 15,000 million, barring a slump.

The waste that production for sale and profit engenders is immeasurable. Socialism, that is production for use, means that only the best will prevail. The grada-

tions of quality to suit your pocket will go and along with the cheap-jack will go the sham, the shoddy, the thief and the spiv. Restrictive practices, so prevalent today, will disappear and resources will be used to the full.

Production factors can greatly influence our needs today. A new commodity plus an intense advertising campaign creates new needs. It is hard to believe that before the war we managed quite well without nylon and other man-made fibres. Snob values and the "keeping up with the Joneses" are exploited by the advertising experts whose job it is to manipulate and play on the weaknesses of potential consumers.

The most prevalent aspiration in this society is the acquisition of money, for money gives one a social power. Without it you are a failure; with it a success. Hence the striving to climb that slippery ladder, to reach the top, at all costs, to be able to surround oneself with all the things that will earn the approbation of one's fellow men. These are the kind of values that obtain today. Relationships between people revolve around this factor. The personality becomes identified by and through the accumulation of things and not through the exercise of one's human capacities. Full development is repressed and stultified by the property society we live in.

Soul-destroying

Let us look at some of its effects. Over 40 per cent. of lying-in patients in

"Fifty Years Ago"

LLOYD GEORGE'S BUDGET

Judging by the noise made about the land-tax clauses in the Finance Bill, one might think that something vital were at stake, yet it is all nothing more than a squabble between sections of the capitalist class as to what share each shall bear of the cost of their class government. It has long been the policy of one section in these semi-comic scuffles, to squeal "Revolution!", "Socialism!", "Confiscation!", when called upon to pay its share by the majority for the time being; but only the ignorant are duped by it. We are also becoming accustomed to finding the Labour Party, the tail of the Liberal cur, out-doing the regular representatives of the Masters in spreading confusion among the workers. And now because there is a pretence of taxing unearned increment on land values for the support of capitalism,

these "Labour" members hail it as Socialistic. They ignore the fact that all taxation imposed by capitalists on themselves is a taxation of unearned increment. The Masters have already squeezed the workers dry in the factory, so to pay for their new Dreadnoughts the propertied class have, perforce, to tax themselves. That, indeed, is all the budget amounts to; and in what, pray, is it Socialistic? . . .

Yet Mr. Victor Grayson said (according to the *Daily Telegraph* of June 23rd) that the Finance Bill contains "a good chunk" of his personal principles. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald stated that if need be he would go into the lobby to support the Chancellor of the Exchequer. And Mr. Keir Hardie, consistent with his denial of the class struggle, said, "Labour men and Socialists would be cowards if they did not tell Mr. Lloyd George that they stood solidly behind him."

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, July 1909

hospitals are mental cases. The soul-destroying repetitive processes that most workers do because it is cheaper to produce in that way, completely separate them from joy in their labour. The feeling that they can be sacked only adds to the frustration and insecurity of living. Workers do not have a job. They have the loan of a job which can be taken from them whenever their employer decides to do so. The threat of war and mass annihilation, due to the same basic cause, Capitalism, hangs over us like Damocles' sword. The irritations, mistrust, guardedness and jungle morality of this society all serve to alienate the sociability of people. We know that once the property basis of society is ended and production is for use, then people will act in a harmonious and sociable way.

Production, when it is for use and not

for profit, will depend solely on the amount of people available and the natural resources to work on. All the wasted and useless labour that we have today will be usefully employed under Socialism. Men in the armed forces, policemen, people engaged in accounting, collecting and doling out money, insurance, banking and the hundred and one other useless tasks so necessary to capitalism will enter into production. Potentially we can produce an abundance. It simply becomes a matter of organisation. We know that under Socialism people will not seek to acquire things which today carry with them status and prestige value. Those compensating factors will no longer fill a need and the emphasis in people's lives will at last be on the quality of living rather than the quantity of possessions.

J. G.

Old Age Pensions

We are all familiar with music-hall melodies which conjure up visions of a best of all possible worlds, where the capricious weather is the only cause for complaint. Certainly, a nice sunny day under the palms of say, the Bahamas, sipping iced drinks and carelessly tossing filthy lucre around to fawning waiters, hoteliers and the like is guaranteed to make life tolerable; if at times a bore.

However, the gay lines of the song are themselves a reflection of their gloomy opposite—the smog-ridden back streets of Britain's industrial areas and the dull lives of the propertyless wage slaves who from cradle to grave, inhabit them. Who rise by their alarm clocks, spend their days producing surplus value and look forward, at the end, to scraping along on an old age pension. The question is—should we aim to abolish a social system that breeds such contrasts or should we tinker at reforming it?

Progress

Certainly, the reform-mongers have had a good innings—there has been no dearth of "improvers of the condition of the working class" since Marx tabulated them. Whether Tory, Liberal, Labour or Communist Parties, they have all had a go at "improving" the wages system, until those who work for wages may wonder why there is anything left to be improved.

Further, whilst the labour and inventive genius of the working class has

showered luxury after luxury on their employers, their own lives are marked by monotonous insecurity, with the ultimate goal of a weekly pension of about 50s. Cold comfort for them to read boastful headlines of progress in aeronautics and so on, whilst life in their own orbit involves wintering, not on Palm Beach or the shores of the Mediterranean, but anchored to their obscure slum allies, shivering over oil stoves. Is *this* progress?

Pensioners are the forgotten men and women of capitalism, who are of no further use in the production of surplus value. Here is the real reason for pensions and pensioners, for the production of surplus value is the mainspring of capitalism, which enables those who by labour power to live in luxury and idleness.

Wistful Eyes

Certainly, our pensioners may view distant sunny lands in glorious technicolor—from a cinema seat whilst the damp, foggy air of the industrial areas awaits them at the end of the show. Only within the glossy pages of coloured cruise brochures may they wander with wistful eyes along gleaming promenade decks, dining saloons, lounges, bars and staterooms of the Queens of the Southern Seas. These enjoyments are for sale—at hundreds of pounds—and so are out of reach of Britain's sun-starved old age pensioners.

Such is the class nature of progress in a class divided society; always the greatest benefits of improvement in transport and so on accrue to the ruling class. Until the workers decide to end this monopoly of the good things of life, participation on their part will be limited to a mere shadow of the real thing.

During last winter, whilst old age pensioners and the like tried to combat the cold with stoves run on paraffin oil at 2s. per gallon instead of coal at 9s. per bag, Sir Winston Churchill flew to sunny Morocco in a 70-seater plane with only 17 passengers. Here was room for 50 of Britain's sun-starved pensioners. After all, are they not part of Britain's one big happy family which the politicians are fond of orating about? Or could it be that the wealthy shipping potentate Aristotle Onassis, whose guest Churchill was, preferred the empty seats to the pensioners' company?

No Pensions

The answer is that there can be no participation in this type of progress for the great mass of humanity, so long as they are shackled to the wages system. Wages, which generally are only just sufficient to maintain and reproduce the worker, are the chain which pegs him down to his native heath. The *Socialist Standard* of October 1956 pointed out that "only 8 per cent. of the population of Britain went abroad for holidays in 1955 and that 77 per cent. have never been outside Britain."

As long as the worker has abilities to sell and can produce surplus value he is an asset to the capitalist class, but once the golden juice of labour power dries up with his advancing years, his days of exploitation are numbered. Finally, he is retired and becomes a liability to those who, having exploited him during the best years of his life grant him a tiny pension to continue his existence, if he can.

Under Socialism, of course, there will be no pensions, even large ones, because once humanity is freed from the necessity of selling their energies and social ownership of the means of life is a reality, every human being, regardless of age, will have free and welcome access to the good things of life. When their hair is turning greyer—by weight of years alone—their place in society will be one of dignity and respect in a free and harmonious community.

G. R. RUSSELL.

Letter from Wales

SOME while ago, the writer had occasion to examine an old Welsh bible. The only thing peculiar to this bible was that it had been used for religious services underground. It was the custom of the earlier generations of miners to commence their "stint" with prayers and hymn-singing. This bible still remains to remind one of the traditional Welsh attitude to religion, which has permeated the social and political history of the people of Wales. It is a long and interesting story which English historians, due mostly to lack of knowledge of the vernacular, have not been able to give much attention to; nevertheless, it can be accepted that just as druidism was the dominant religion of tribal Wales, Catholicism—followed by the Reformed Church—the faith of the Mediaeval peasant—so Nonconformism became a strong influence upon the industrial workers in the new era of Capitalism. Today, the roots of political and trade union life in Wales still draw considerable sustenance from religion. Tradition dies hard and men like Mabon and K. Hardie (who though a Scot was "taken into the bosom" of the Welsh people) are to this day looked upon with reverence as outstanding "Christian Socialists."

THE KEIR HARDIE MYTH

IN 1936, the S.P.G.B., in a pamphlet *War and the Working Class*, drew attention to the attitude which Keir Hardie actually adopted to the First World War. This must have offended many of Hardie's admirers and in 1953 a South Wales newspaper, under a headline of half-inch capitals, published a defence of him. This was largely directed against the S.P.G.B., whose exposure of Hardie was described as a "nauseating attack," a "smear campaign" against the "character and honour" of Hardie. The S.P.G.B., said the writer, was "turning and twisting" but our argument would be "torn asunder" by "indisputable facts" which he possessed "in abundance."

Strong words. They sparked off a lively debate in the newspaper, in which the S.P.G.B. members reminded the readers of Hardie's boast that he had helped to recruit more men to the colours than had his Liberal opponent. This, said our adversary, was a falsifi-

cation of history; but when we offered him the opportunity to expose it in public debate, he refused. By this time, the Welsh members had their teeth into it; we obtained photostat copies of some 1914 issues of the *Merthyr Pioneer* which proved conclusively the correctness of our assertions. Need we say that, in face of this, our opponent pleaded lack of sufficient time to continue the argument and asked us to drop the matter? As our final word, we shall arrange a public challenge meeting on the matter.

It is as well to place some of Hardie's attitudes on record. He advised against pacifist agitation, advocated national unity in wartime and resistance to an aggressor "to the last drop of blood." Thus he was no better (and no worse) than the other Labour Party and I.L.P. leaders who have given their support to the war efforts of British capitalism; Henderson, MacDonald, Attlee, Bevin and Morrison all followed him, playing the same terrible game. There is no doubt about their support of war. We can only hope that our efforts will help



from the
Branches

LEWISHAM

Two indoor meetings are being held at the Branch room at Davenport House during July. Details are given under the "Meetings" column.

EALING

OWING to members' holidays, Ealing Branch will not meet on July 17th and 24th. The meetings of July 31st, August 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th will be held at The Royal Oak public house, Ealing Broadway (opp. Bentalls). Thereafter, meetings will be resumed at the usual venue, Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing, W.5.

to show that the revered Keir Hardie was no different.

ELECTIONS AND THE CHAPELS

THE local elections in Wales often resolve themselves into a contest between religious communities—"bethel" versus "Moriah," or Baptist versus Methodist with the Salvation Army thrown in as dark horses. The fact that one is a Chapel member counts a great deal in Welsh politics, local and national—not forgetting the Trade Unions. Political careerists are aware of this and even so-called communists are careful to assert their attachment to religious principles. The other day a local "Commie" indignantly challenged a Tory who dared to state that Religion and Communism were incompatible! A leading member of the Welsh Nationalist Party has recently been elevated from mere chapel membership to that of Vice-President of the Baptist Union of Wales. At the same time, his party, to prove their rebellious convictions, are indulging in pirate radio broadcasts on the B.B.C. television wave-lengths under the title *Voice of Wales*.

As can be seen, the few Socialists in Wales have a hard task in hand. But we shall continue the struggle.

W. BRAIN.

BLOOMSBURY

BLOOMSBURY BRANCH will not meet during August as Conway Hall closes for that month. After the meeting on July 16th the next meeting will be on September 3rd.

"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

THE Production Committee are endeavouring to meet the wishes of members by, they hope, improving the appearance of the *Standard*. Apart from our wish to make the S.S. the best possible means of spreading the Socialist message, there is the ever pressing need to sell as many copies as possible. An encouraging idea is that from now on our order to the printers should increase every month. This requires help from every member in the Party. Why not start by doubling your quota of *Standards* per month, and make that extra effort to sell all you take?

P. H.

MEETINGS

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Public Meeting, Co-op Hall, 197 Mare Street, E.8.

Monday, July 13th, 8 p.m.

"Socialism—One World, One People"

*

"TWENTY YEARS AFTER"

Public Meetings on War

Denison House, Victoria, S.W.1

Sundays September 6th & 27th at 7 p.m.

*

BLOOMSBURY BRANCH

Discussions, Conway Hall (North Room),

Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

First Thursday in each month, 8.30 p.m.

September 3rd. "Hospitals - Why?"

C. Kilner

October 1st. "Who pays for the Arts?"

E. Kersley

November 5th. "Are the Workers Worse Off?"

G. Arthur

*

EALING BRANCH

Lecture—Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing Broadway

July 3rd, 8 p.m.

"The Catholic Church," R. Coster

*

LEWISHAM BRANCH

Lectures—Davenport House, Davenport Road, Catford

Mondays at 8 p.m.

July 13th "Who are the Capitalist Class in Russia?"

E. Willmott

July 20th "Modern Trends in Russia,"

E. Willmott

*

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	July 5th	1 p.m.
	July 19th	11 a.m.
	July 12th and 26th	12 noon
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill	12.30—2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road	8 p.m.
Fridays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.
	Roper Street, Eltham	3 p.m.

*

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings and evenings.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence: Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (July 2 and 16) in month 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. No meetings in August.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. For meetings see Branch News, Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (June 12th) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (July 1, 15 and 29) 8 p.m., Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (July 13 and 27) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (July 1, 15 and 29) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushley Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (July 7), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (July 21), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (July 10 and 24) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHEL TENHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

EDINBURGH. Enquiries: A. Hollingshead, 39 Leamington Terrace.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. 3rd Tuesday (July 20) in month, 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL & REIGATE. Enquiries: C. E. Smith, 88 Chart Lane, Reigate.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelly, Glam.

The Passing Show

NATIONAL ANTHEMS

THERE is a famous story to the effect that the King and Queen of a foreign country used to hold hands whenever their National Anthem was played, and say to each other "Darling, this is our tune." But apart from monarchs, National Anthems appear to have few friends in these unpatriotic days. The writer has often been nearly trampled underfoot in the fierce rush for the exits which cinema audiences make at the end of the programme, in order to avoid having to stand through "God Save the Queen."

This has no doubt given our rulers pause for thought. For centuries the workers have been encouraged to rally round the flag, and defend their masters' profits on the battlefield, by the singing of patriotic songs and anthems. This was so useful to the ruling class that they could hardly be expected to let the habit die out without some effort to preserve it.

"GOD SAVE NATO"

IF a third world war comes, it seems likely at present that the NATO powers will all be on the same side. So the latest production in the patriotic song line is the "NATO hymn," copies of which were sent recently to many schools in this country. The help of God is freely invoked, the Almighty making his appearance in the very first line. The exact aim of the hymn is a little obscure. The first verse says "Let . . . violence disappear," while the second demands "Build up the power of right . . . Let NATO grow in might, and put its foes to flight." How exactly NATO is to put its foes to flight, and violence is to disappear simultaneously, is not made clear. Presumably the NATO armies are to be trained to spring out from behind convenient corners, and all shout

"Boo!" at the same time: at which the Russians will burst into tears and run away.

But these criticisms no doubt approach the subject from the wrong angle. Patriotic songs do not, and are not meant to, appeal to reason; they rely on rousing the emotions. G. K. Chesterton remarked that to say "My country, right or wrong," was like saying "My mother, drunk or sober." But "My country, right or wrong," is just the feeling that a national anthem aims to instil. The NATO hymn is well in the tradition of previous patriotic anthems.

Even the *Manchester Guardian*, which whole-heartedly supports NATO, found that the NATO song's invocation of God stuck in its gullet. It quoted Sir John Squire's famous verse (21-4-59):

*God heard the nations shout
"Gott strafe England," "God save
the King."
God this, God that and God the other
thing.
"Good God!" said God. "I've got
my work cut out."*

The *Manchester Guardian* thinks that a righteous God will be on NATO's side; but his help, it believes, ought to be asked a little more decorously. This will, no doubt, not prevent the paper urging us on to battle in any third world war just as it did in the first two.

THE POVERTY OF "OUR" JUDGES



THE Labour Party, which claims to represent the organised workers, appears to be angling for the support of a small group of labourers who have not yet formed themselves in a union affiliated to the T.U.C. The sons of toil in question are the county court judges and the Metropolitan magistrates. The Labour

Party when in power attempted to enforce a wage-freeze on the miners and railwaymen, but it is not doctrinaire about these things. One of the Ministers in the post-war Labour Government was Mr., now Lord, Silkin; and he realises that there are some people who ought to be free from the wage-restraints he and his colleagues recommended to the workers. In 1957 the county court judges' salaries were raised to £3,750 per annum, and those of the Metropolitan magistrates to £3,400 (*Manchester Guardian*, 13-5-59). Now they are to be raised again, to £4,400 and £3,800 respectively. No one in the Lords spoke more enthusiastically in support than the Labour Lord Silkin. "There is no doubt in my mind," he said, "that a good many of our county court judges particularly, and magistrates, have been living in relative penury in the last few years—certainly since the war."

What a wonderful word "relative" is! No doubt the judges and magistrates are poorer than the richest members of the ruling class. But if Lord Silkin is so worried about the "relative penury" of the judges, why couldn't he spare a word for the poverty in which many members of the working class have to live? There's nothing relative about that.

"SOMETHING FOR NOTHING"

FIELD-MARSHAL MONTGOMERY said at the Founders' Day celebration at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, "I shall be very sorry when National Service comes to an end, as I think it is good for young people to learn to give something for nothing." (*Observer*, 21-5-59.)

Such a thrust in the stomach with a bayonet?

But Lord Montgomery needn't be sorry. For the ninety per cent. of the population who belong to the working class, their entire lives are spent giving something for nothing. Their employers exact surplus value from them: the value of their work over and above what they are paid. Without the workers giving "something for nothing" throughout their working lives, the capitalist system would collapse.

Perhaps that is what Lord Montgomery is afraid of.

ALWYN EDGAR.

20 years after outbreak
of Second World War
will be featured in the
SEPTEMBER
Socialist Standard

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

What Mr. Cousins is after will leave the workers just as they are, the wage slave victims of capitalist conditions and subject to the threat of terrible wars, with or without the H-Bomb.

Mr. Cousins Damp Squib

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THE Labour Party is in a turmoil—and the General Election is near. Mr. Cousins of the Transport and General Workers Union has thrown a spanner into the works. He has been making quite a stir in the news by his opposition to the official attitude of the Labour Party on the H-Bomb and nationalisation.

Mr. Bevan has now become quite respectable as an official spokesman. Mr. Cousins has replaced him as the Labour Party rebel—the “leftist.” It is only farce that is played out every now and then with only a change in the personnel. Is there really any fundamental difference between Mr. Cousins and the leaders of the Labour Party?

He objects to the H-Bomb but supports the Labour Party, which is pledged to a defence programme. Millions were killed in the last war without the H-Bomb being used, but he does not support the only policy that will end war. He believes Mr. Gaitskell is sincere but that his policy on the H-Bomb will not be effective.

At the Transport and General Workers Conference in the Isle of Man Mr. Cousins dropped his bombshell. He is also reported as follows: “I have never believed that the most important thing in our lives is to elect a Labour Government. The most important thing is to elect a Labour Government that is determined to carry out Socialist policies.” (Daily Express, 10th July, 1959.)

Now what does he mean by “to carry out Socialist policies”? To him it means nationalisation—state capitalism. He objects to the official line on nationalisation—buying shares instead of the state taking over the industries. But to him, just as to them, state ownership is equivalent to Socialism. In other words, in spite of the long experience of state capitalism, he blindly accepts it as

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

the fundamental aim, despite the disillusion and unrest in state owned or state controlled concerns and the labour struggles in them for better conditions.

Thus what Mr. Cousins is after will leave the workers just as they are, the wage slave victims of capitalist conditions and subject to the threat of terrible wars, with or without the H-Bomb.

In striking back at Mr. Cousins Mr. Gaitskell made some very significant statements. He made it clear that a Labour Government was not bound by the decisions of the rank and file of the Labour Party and that he was first and foremost a patriot. Here are some extracts from his speech at Workington on the 11th July, 1959:

A Labour Government will take into account the views of the Conference, but, as was clearly demonstrated in the correspondence between Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee in 1945, annual conference does not mandate a government.

Both a Labour Government and the Parliamentary Labour Party must be left free to settle in matters of detail how and when the principles and decisions are to be applied in practice. This has always been understood in the past, and it must be clearly understood again today. (*Observer*, 12th July, 1959.)

Earlier in his speech he was even more emphatically the leader who would disdain the decisions of the Labour movement he claimed to represent:

To give such a pledge [not to resume nuclear tests] might conceivably be to jeopardise the future security of our country, and that I will not do under any circumstances. Those of us who have the responsibilities of political leadership have to remember always that we shall be expected to stand by our pledges.

We will not bother to remind him of the pledges the "political leadership" have broken in the past, but we can remind him that no one is forcing him to take the "political leadership" job. If he doesn't like what the people who appoint him want him to do he can always resign his job and not fly in the face of their decisions. But that would be the democratic way and leadership is the antithesis of democracy!

Time and again we have pointed out that what the Labour Party was mainly concerned with was not principles but votes. This futile controversy has spotlighted it once again. Labour M.P.'s are wrathful and shaking in their shoes at thought of the effect this blow-up may have on their votes in the next election. That is their main and all-consuming worry. Even Mr. Cousins expostulates that his proposals will not split the Labour Party, and anyhow, he will abide by conference decisions—in spite of the prospect of dire calamity unless the H-Bomb is abandoned.

While the Labour Party storm may have a bad influence on their election prospects it will have no influence upon the subject position of the worker. Only Socialism can remove that subjection—and this has no place in the Labour programme, nor in Mr. Cousins' outlook.

GILMAC

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

CORRESPONDENCE

Socialists and Nuclear Disarmament

Dear Comrades,

Although I am a supporter of the S.P.G.B. for the last ten years, it is not my usual practice to write to you whenever I happened to disagree with the Party on minor issues; but now I am compelled to write this letter, because the point I should like to raise here is a very important and a serious one—it is the Party's relation towards the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.)—I have read your short *A Point of View* (May, 1959). I entirely agree on every point you raised and explained in relation to the cause of war and its remedy; but what I don't agree, is your attitude towards C.N.D. It crystallizes in one single sentence in the first para. "We hold that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is on an unsound basis and inevitably leads in the wrong direction."

I think this tendency to disassociate with a movement of this character and make judgment that it is "on an unsound basis" is due to your incorrect or false evaluation of the social forces. Most of you may be probably still thinking that it is a movement started by a few non-socialists like Canon Collins or Michael Foot or Bertrand Russell or perhaps they (the leaders) might be conscious of the dangers of the present situation, but the people in general who follow them have no clear understanding of our society. This view or any other similar view which is trying to picture that movement as if it is completely dominated and controlled by such a leadership, is superficial, grossly incorrect and an oversimplification of the whole social process which brought C.N.D. into being.

New Consciousness

In the first place I should like to point out that it is not the leaders that came before the movement, but the movement armed with a new social consciousness pregnant with a new force of energy, which appeared first and then a set of leaders are born out of that specific social situation. In the last ten

years powerful nations on both sides were boasting that they have more effective and better weapons of destruction than the other side. Many influential politicians and military leaders in Britain, Russia and America repeatedly stated that they are developing bigger and better bombs.

Along with this all round boasting they were actually strengthening all their forces of destruction and arming up to the teeth. Almost every aspect of society was alerted. A new awareness or perhaps consciousness began to develop among all sorts of people of the seriousness of the situation in which they are involved. They began to be conscious of the weakness of their social and political institutions which hitherto they supported, to prevent a new world war. They began

* * * * *

To the Editor

We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

* * * * *

to doubt the chance of their survival in the nuclear warfare. They felt it is their duty to "revolt" against this ridiculous situation where two great rival nations threaten each other by clenching their fists. It is this new social situation which gave birth to C.N.D. But this new social consciousness is blind. It has no eye to see the barrier in front of it which is to be removed for their survival. As one of the leading members (sociologist?) of the U.L.R. (Universities and Left Review) pointed out it is a "leaderless" movement. Unfortunately what he implied, later in his speech, was that U.L.R. should try to assume its leadership if not of the whole at least its youth section. Hundreds and thousands of people, especially youths, turned up and joined the C.N.D. fully

conscious that they need something new, yet they did not know what they wanted!

It is true various types of political factions in C.N.D. are trying to utilize this blind consciousness as a ladder to climb to political power or at least to strengthen their original position, being utterly unaware of the significance of this new development. But it is the Socialists' duty to move along with them in order to provide them with an eye so that they can see the barrier which stands in their way. In other words, we should try to create a situation so that the Socialist concept, as an eye, should assume the leadership of this new consciousness.

Isolation

I strongly hold the view that it was our duty, Socialists' duty, either individually or collectively organized on a party basis, to march along with them *with our own banners and slogans* and take the opportunity of speaking to such a huge conscious gathering. We lost that opportunity! No Collins or Foots or Taylors can claim even the partial control or ownership of a movement of this character. Nor does it belong to them. It belongs to the whole society. In my view this kind of participation in C.N.D. is only a logical extension of what we had already been doing—selling our literature, discussing with non Socialist marchers etc. Now I begin to feel that it is this type of social isolation or regimentation of S.P.G.B. from the rest of the conscious and militant social forces (as Rosa Luxemburg indignantly pointed out about another aspect—the relation between the masses and the political leadership) which makes our unassailable case ineffective instead of being a powerful political force.

H. J. PANIKKAR, London.

REPLY

We regret that Mr. Panikkar's letter was too long to publish in full.

During its 55 years of existence, the Socialist Party of Great Britain has seen many organisations which like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, have been pledged to abolish a particular evil of capitalist society. The hunger marchers and the pacifists of the 1930's were described as movements "armed with a new social consciousness." Today, members of Road Safety Committees can possibly be described in the same way—at least their death statistics are less in

dispute than those of the C.N.D. In truth, as capitalism throws up problems, so it throws up organisations which try to deal with one or more of them in isolation. There is no doubt about the sincerity of some of these movements, or that they concern themselves with very real and terrifying matters. But because they do not demand an understanding of the roots of the problems, their efforts are doomed to futility.

Because of this socialists have no place in these organisations. But this does not prevent them stating, at every possible opportunity, the socialist attitude to such horrors as war. We do not isolate ourselves from our opponents, we are always eager to put our case to them. Mr. Panikkar cannot have missed, on page 78 of the May SOCIALIST STANDARD, the account of our activities at the last Aldermaston March. This is typical of S.P.G.B. work, whatever non-socialist organisation we are dealing with.

Weapons of war are inseparable from war itself. To abolish them, we must get rid of war. These are caused by the clash of interests between groups of capitalists who want to protect or exploit markets and fields of valuable natural wealth. The need to do this is the result of the fact that, in capitalist society, goods and services are produced with the motive of profitable sale. Obviously, each group will strive to arm itself more powerfully—which means more destructively—than its opponents. Hence the development of modern weapons and the horrors of nuclear warfare. We can solve this problem by abolishing private property. Only a socialist movement can effectively advocate this.

In contrast, the C.N.D. is in favour of the continuation of capitalism. It does not even oppose capitalism's wars, but wants them to be gentlemanly affairs in which people are killed by conventional armaments. Even on the score of nuclear weapons, the C.N.D. is confused. Many of its members support the return of another Labour government—yet the last one started the British H-bomb and missile programmes. This confusion is typical of organisations which may be well meaning, but lack the

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Wages by Cheque

THE Government are to introduce legislation allowing the workers to be paid by cheque. This piffing proposal will probably produce a hurricane of opposition from certain windy quarters in the Trade Unions and Labour Party, and no doubt some Communists. The right of the worker to be paid in ready cash will become part of the day-to-day struggles, a real *cause celebre*.

Tory backwoodsmen are saying that this will make the workers more thrifty. They will, they hopefully claim, put their cheques into bank accounts and not spend it all. Savings will increase, and with them, abstemiousness; sobriety, and all things beautiful. The ideal worker from the Capitalist point of view is the virtuous economic cabbage who can live on practically nothing and enjoy it. If he manages somehow to put a bit away so much the better. He won't be a charge on the Rates or National Assistance later.

Confidence Tricks

This is the unspoken philosophy of Capitalist Governments. From time to time terrific confidence tricks are played by Governments on workers' savings.

essential knowledge with which every socialist is equipped. Mr. Panikkar claims that C.N.D. members are "... conscious of the weakness of their social and political institutions ... to prevent a new world war." Our guess is that the next election will see them voting for the very political parties which administer the capitalist basis of those social and political institutions.

Marches and demonstrations are glamorous and exciting. Alongside, our insistence on knowledge may seem rather dull. But the marchers are going to dissension and futility. The socialist movement alone offers the world any hope.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

**The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

Devaluation was introduced by the last Labour Government, and inflation has been the policy of both Conservative and Labour Governments.

Last Autumn the Government removed the credit restrictions on Bank lending. In a great splash of newspaper publicity the Banks announced a scheme for personal loans for such things as cars, houses, T.V. sets, refrigerators, etc. A few days after the announcement the *Manchester Guardian* reported the experience of about 50 Salford dockers who queued up outside the local branch of the Westminster Bank. It appeared that the dockers were naive enough to believe what they read. They told the Bank manager they wanted to borrow a few quid to tide them over a bad spell. The Bank manager, as Bank managers are wont to do, asked for some security. All the dockers produced their Union cards as a guarantee of their ability to repay the loan, that is, if they didn't become unemployed or put on short time. The manager delicately informed them that the Bank could not take the risk, Union card or not. The less credulous of us are now asked to believe that if the dockers, and other workers, were paid by cheque they would have money in the Bank. The worker's possession of a cheque-book is as meaningful as the verse in the Canadian folk song "Good morning Mum, I have a button here, can you sew a shirt on it?"

Robbery

An interesting reaction to this proposal comes from the Bank Trade Unions. They apparently do not relish the increased work this will entail for the same pay. Heaven knows what might happen if the workers start subbing in mid week.

Apart from claims about saving time on accountancy and wage clerks, there is the question of armed robbery being prevented. Snatching the payroll could, by present ethical standards, be considered more a transfer of property than a theft. The biter bitten would be an apt description. After all, the robbery has already taken place at the point of production. As always, the workers are the victims, not the Capitalists.

J. D.



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The Passing Show

GALLANT CHRISTIAN GENTLEMAN

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN, the Labour Party's "Shadow Colonial Secretary," had this to say in the debate about the killing of eleven detainees at the Hola camp in Kenya (*Daily Herald*, 17-6-59):

The Tories believed that for reasons of State the truth should not be told. By silently conniving they had shown themselves no better than any totalitarians. No better than any Communist, or, if Mr. Lennox-Boyd preferred it, than any Fascist.

"This," the account continues, "brought a storm of Tory protests and shouts of 'Smear!'"

It is curious that the Conservatives should protest so much at this reference to Mr. Lennox-Boyd, who, as Colonial Secretary, must bear a large proportion of the responsibility for what happens in the camps where Britain imprisons, often without trial, the opponents of her colonial rule. To show open support for Franco went out of fashion during the war. But before it Mr. Lennox-Boyd made no secret of his support for Franco in Spain. He was a member of the Committee of the "Friends of National Spain"—i.e., the friends of the Rebel side in the Civil War; he was closely associated with such people as the then Sir Henry Page Croft, who made the famous declaration "I recognize General Franco to be a gallant Christian gentleman." (Details can be found in Simon Haxey's book "TORY M.P.," published by Gollancz.)

Mr. Lennox-Boyd also claimed in the House of Commons that he was not a democrat or Parliamentarian in regard to India at that time (*The Times*, 9-2-35). Why, one wonders, are the Tories now so sensitive at these references to their Colonial Secretary's opinions?

TESTIMONIAL

THE Labour Party, when it is in power, is of course as zealous for the defence of British capitalism's colonial interests as the Conservatives themselves. Sir Roy Welensky, fresh from the jailing of the leaders of the Africans, who are the great majority in his Rhodesian Federation, came to Britain recently and said

on arrival that he did not fear a Labour Government (*The Observer*, 5-7-59). "I have found in the past," he said, "that I can expect as much realism from the Labour Party as from the Conservatives when they are in office."

This is a splendid tribute to the Labour Party's past services to those who think like Welensky. No doubt it will have a prominent place in their propaganda at the next General Election.

HOW TO WIN ELECTIONS

AND on the subject of the coming election, the headlines of the *Daily Herald* on June 17th were not without interest. "Bevan slams H-rebels," they ran. "You'd lose us the election." Apparently Mr. Bevan had told a private meeting of Labour M.P.s the night before that "if the Labour Party fought a General Election on a policy of go-it-alone disarmament the result would be 'like it was in 1931,'" when Labour was heavily defeated.

Which provides strong support for those who say that the leaders of the great political parties shape their policies mainly in order to secure the greatest possible number of votes.

GRIT GALORE

THE cinema trade chiefs complain of competition from TV. Filming projects are abandoned. Cinemas close. The industry appears to be having a bad time.

But cinema magnate Lord Rank is weathering the storm. He is lavishing great care on the grouse on his 30,000 acre leased Scottish estate. Apparently the birds have to have grit in their gullets to digest their food properly. So the solicitous peer is transporting various kinds of grit from far corners of the islands, to see which his birds like best. Thirty thousand tons have so far been carried to his estate, ten thousand of them from Cornwall, and other samples from Aberdeen and Ireland (*Daily Express*, 27-6-59).

Lord Rank's shooting, at least, seems to have survived the cinema depression.

ALWYN EDGAR.

Human Nature and Morality

AFTER Marx died there grew up a legend that his theory of social causation was too narrowly mechanistic to provide accommodation for any sort of ethics. No doubt Marx, in combating the sentimental "moralising" of certain utopian contemporaries who called themselves "the True Socialists," had leaned so far backward as to give semblance if not substance for fathering on him views whose alleged paternity he would have disclaimed.

Socialism as a Humanism

The humanistic Socialism combated by Marx, like its contemporary counterpart, was a pseudo-political trend, inspired by the literati, philosophers and pundits. Moses Hess was for a time their most representative spokesman. For the early humanists as with the latter day ones, Socialism was not a question—of by bread alone—even though bread might be included. Socialism was primarily a question of moral values. Stress was laid on brotherly love, the dignity of man, concern for the individual, etc. From such political piety, Socialism came to be defined as—"the ethics of love." Then, Socialism took the guise of contemporary humanism. Now, humanism assumes the role of contemporary Socialism.

Like many of the views Marx fought against, the arguments of the True Socialists have turned up over and over again in a variety of social situations, tricked out each time in fresh frills and flounces, as if making their first bow on the stage of world history.

Humanism the Classless Ethic

Common to all shades of this humanistic approach, right up from Hess, Grun, Bernstein, Lansbury, to the current version, is the tenet that Socialism is not basically a question of economic interests but humanitarian ideals. Not a matter for the stomach, but an affair of the heart, and that a moral revolution must be the prelude to the social revolution. Not only, argue the humanists, have men altruistic feelings, but implicit in these feelings are the ideals of Communism. All that is necessary is to encourage and help promote these altruistic tendencies, to actualise the Brotherhood of Man based on universal love.

If the true nature of man is some residual and permanent quality of the human species, then every man is at least in embryo a Communist, able, given the right social milieu to lead with others of his kind the good life. But what the right kind of social conditions necessary for this are, the humanists all through the ages have

been very vague about. Again, if the essence of man is his "true nature," then this human essence transcends all social systems and classes. Landed proprietors, capitalists, peasants and wage workers, are all equally capable of actualising their "true nature" into the Communist way of life. Thus, while many humanists have called for the abolition of all classes they have done so in the name of an abstract classless ethic. While they will admit that the class struggle itself is inevitably engendered by the competitive and egoistical character of Capitalist society, they nevertheless hold that it militates against the growth of humanistic ideals by giving emphasis to men's material differences instead of stressing their human sameness. Many humanists have even talked about the necessity of prosecuting the class struggle, but how can one ask men to give up their class beliefs and disregard class interests and then call upon one class to oppose another?

Human Nature as an Historic Variable

Humanism with its apotheosis of an abstract humanity becomes a form of religious fixation. That is why its idealised concepts and phrases become bulwarks of ideological defence of reactionary interests, especially clerical ones. The so-called Catholic Socialism with its "rights" and "duties" of an alleged classless brotherhood of men has borrowed heavily from humanistic sources. Indeed, those whom Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* called feudal-Socialists, cashed in on the literature of the True Socialists to use as an attack on the German bourgeoisie.

The ethical assumptions of all varieties of what is called the humanistic Socialist view is based on the fixity of human nature. They share this view with theological theorists, the difference being that the former hold that this basic human nature is good and the latter that it is bad. Marx denied that human nature can be placed in such absolute categories. Both Marx and Engels held that human nature was not an absolute constant but an historic variable. In fact, Marx and Engels always insisted that the "human nature" to which humanists and the clericalists appeal, each in their different ways, cannot serve as a guide to social organisation. It is not human nature which explains society, but society which explains human nature. There is no given human nature independent of time and place. There is only an historical human nature, that is a specific expression of human nature in a definite social context. To put it more precisely to understand the nature of the human, one must understand the nature of the society in which humans live. When we adopt such a criterion we discover that

there is no immutable human nature, no homogeneous pattern to which a universal appeal can be made for the justification of concrete social questions. There can be no overall moral agreement or ethical unity in a social system split by class interests and antagonisms. Inability to understand this not only leads Humanists to talk of "man as he is" or "the human as such," but they identify this abstract category with concrete man as he exists in a given society. That is why in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx shows how "the True Socialists" proclaimed "the German nation to be the normal nation and the German Philistine the normal mind." An illusion, one might add, shared by the so-called schools of empirical sociology.

Class Demands v. Ethical Neutrality

Contrary to what humanists believe and apparently Mr. Taylor (*Is Marxism a Humanism?*), all ethics can be shown to have a class bias in a class system, and further there can be no genuine class ethic unless backed by class demands. That is why on concrete social issues one cannot appeal to man as such or "the normal human." Neither is there some ethically neutral tribunal to which opposing class rights can be impartially referred.

Capitalist society consists of buyers and sellers of labour-power. The worker as a seller of labour-power cannot assert his "right" to maintain or improve his living standards via ethical appeal or moral law. He can only seek to enforce his right through active organisation with others of his kind. Nor is the Capitalist under a moral obligation to waive or even remit in any way the unpaid labour of the worker—profit—back in the form of increased wages. Not only has the Capitalist a legal right to profit in the category of unpaid labour, but from his standpoint a moral right as well. Behind this moral right stands custom, tradition, religion, the classless ethic—and the State. As Marx points out in *Capital*, "There is here, therefore, an antimony, right against right, both equally bearing the seal of the law of exchange. Between equal rights, force decides."

In a society such as Capitalism based on a permanent class conflict with its subsidiary conflicts, national and racial, there can be no genuine appeal to a neutral ethics. That is why Marx never invoked, Humanity, Justice, Mercy, etc., as agencies for solving social struggle. For the same reason he rejected the abstract classless morality of Kant and Christ. Morality for Marx is not eternal or natural but active and social. Morality to be genuinely effective must be based on men's needs and in a class society on class needs. It is true that ethical ideals, like truth, duty, honour, the rights of men, etc., acquire a seeming eternal form, for all men profess to strive for these things. But social analysis shows while the forms of these ideals are the same the nature of these ideals differ from social epoch to social epoch and from class to class. So if the question is posed whose truth? whose duty?

*See June and July SOCIALIST STANDARD

what rights of men? one will find in the answer a class standpoint. Crack the shell of a classless absolute ethic hard enough and the kernel of a class interest will be found. Marxist ethics do not invoke "Truth," "Duty," "Altruism," they demand a state of affairs where these things have a different content from the existing ruling morality. Marxist demands are then from the standpoint of the working population, a class demand and thus incorporate a class ethic. It is the real needs of the working class which constitute the watershed of its class morality. Humility or self assertion, unselfishness or selfishness are themselves neither virtuous nor vicious. It is the actual social situation and the human needs of men which provide them with their truly moral quality. While the classless as well as conventional ethics might see the demands of the working class as a form of selfish assertion, it is only by such assertion that this class can secure for itself a decent existence and develop the possibilities for its own emancipation. To neglect the struggle which this involves on the grounds of unselfishness and concern for other class individuals, weakens the moral content of its own demands and could only lead to servile, degrading and inhuman conditions for the vast majority.

For that reason the demand for the abolition of classes can only be a class demand, whose objective, because there are no other classes left to exploit, carries with it the demand for a classless humanity. Because it is a concrete class demand, engendered by a specific social situation, and capable of realisation, it carries with it the moral quality of the truly human. For the working class to be concerned to the exclusion of its own interests with the souls of its "enemies" is itself a policy of despair and its ultimate logic the perpetuation of a soulless system. That is why we reject the classless ethic of religious theory and the school of bourgeois morality with its intuitive ethics based on the private individual. In effect such moral views turn out to be a disguised defence of the status quo. Nor do we accept the monastic conception that men in order to achieve Socialism must first become saints if for no other reason having become saints it will not be necessary for them to achieve Socialism.

In the final article we shall seek to show that although the Marxist ethic is frankly a class ethic rooted in the character of social development it attains the stature of a humanism whose aims and ideals are loftier and more enduring than any current humanist model.

E. W.

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TURN TO PAGE 127

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

AUGUST 1959

The Printing Dispute

FROM the ordinary trade union point of view of a struggle to enforce more pay and shorter hours, the printers' strike seems to have been well conceived and executed and well timed.

The claim was for a 10 per cent. increase of pay and a reduction of 3½ hours, from 43½ to 40. After lengthy negotiations the employers offered 2½ per cent. and 1 hour, but tied up the offer with a long list of demands for the reorganisation of the industry to increase production. The Unions rejected this offer and rejected also the employers' manoeuvre of trying to get them to take the claim to arbitration. Having taken a ballot of their members the printing unions came out on strike on June 17th, over 100,000 men and women being involved. The dispute affected the Newspaper Society and the British Federation of Master Printers, but not the Newspaper Proprietors' Association or the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society, so while the Provincial newspapers, the magazines and periodicals and general printers were brought to a standstill the national and Sunday papers and London evening papers carried on, as did a certain number of firms which accepted the Unions' demands. A second dispute affecting printing ink threatened to stop the other papers, but this was avoided.

The timing was favourable for the workers because trade was recovering from the depression, unemployment was falling and the imminence of a general election made the employers, the Government and the big political parties worried lest a long-drawn out strike should hold up the very big volume of literature of various kinds needed for the election.

In the third week of the strike, discussions started under the chairmanship of Lord Birkett. Towards the end of July, at our time of going to press, the employers made an improved offer, of 3½ per cent. increase of pay, and a reduction of 1½ hours. The unions rejected this. They considered that the substantial concessions they were prepared to make to increase productivity justified more than 3½ per cent. on pay and at least an undertaking

of a further reduction of hours at a later date. Settlement was then expected at 4½ per cent. proposed by Lord Birkett.

The Sanctimonious "Guardian"

The dispute produced several surprising, diverting and instructive incidents. As was to be expected the *Manchester Guardian* led the Press in its sanctimonious comment of June 13th, laying down the usual employers' line that everyone believes in the right of the workers to strike so long as they never exercise the right:

The right to strike is a fundamental human freedom, but its exercise ought to be justified by some great cause. There is no great cause in the printing dispute—it is a piece of market bargaining over money.

Can anyone remember the *Manchester Guardian* ever supporting a strike (except a strike of foreign workers)? The *Guardian* editor's further remark was equally hypocritical.

In the nineteenth century, when Britain had few industrial rivals, and when the main domestic industries had well-hedged fields to themselves, a strike or lock-out did not matter much, except in terms of personal suffering.

If some diligent student were to study the *Guardian's* attitude to strikes in the nineteenth century, we do not doubt that he would find that the *Guardian* always managed to find overwhelming reasons for condemning those strikers too.

Lord Sour grapes

It might have been expected that the newspapers that continued to be published would have solidly defended the employers, though Labour Party supporters doubtless hoped that their two mouthpieces, the official *Daily Herald* and the unofficial *Daily Mirror*, would line up with the workers against the employers. It turned out otherwise and some of the liveliest abuse during the strike was to be found in a fierce battle between the *Daily Express* and the other two. Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* roundly accused the big magazine combines of having precipitated an unnecessary strike by their "tough and unaccommodating attitude," and said (4th July) that the provincial newspapers were the "victims of the tycoons of the magazine trade. They are paying a heavy price for their association with these richer more powerful and more belligerent allies." The biggest printing union, NATSOPA, promptly endorsed the charge. The *Mirror* and *Odhams* (the latter owns the *People* and the *Herald*) are the "magazine tycoons" referred to, and they angrily denied the accusation. The *Mirror* of July 6th, in a slashing leader headed "Lord Sourgrapes—and the drop of poison," explained that Beaverbrook has no magazines except "a couple of inconspicuous comics," called it a "smear campaign," and passed the buck to the smaller printing firms and smaller newspapers who feared that the Unions' demands would put them out of business. The *People* (July 5th) blamed the Unions for not having let the claim go to arbitration in the first place. The *Herald* itself tried to ride both horses. It held that the men have a good case for their original demands, but that the employers "think they have a good case for insisting on increased productivity as a condition of any wage rise"

(June 19th). It tried to escape its dilemma by blaming the Government for not immediately setting up a court of inquiry, which, of course, the Unions did not want, anyway.

The "Principle" of Shorter Hours

A weakness of the trade union position (to be found in many other industries as well) is the ambiguous attitude to shorter hours. Mr. Willis, one of the Union leaders and Chairman of the T.U.C., declared at the conference of the Miners' Union that the printers were striking "in support of the principle for which every trade unionist would fight, the shorter week." (*News Chronicle*, July 8th.) But what are the facts? Though the standard hours are now about four less than in 1938 the actual hours worked in industry are no lower than they were then. The claims for shorter hours have turned into claims for more overtime pay. In 1946 printing hours were reduced by 1½ to 43½, but within a few years the actual average hours of male workers in the paper and printing trade were higher than they were before, and in 1957 were 47 a week.

Confusion about Arbitration and Impartiality

The trade unions are in a muddle about arbitration. The printing unions consistently opposed it on the ground that it would not be "impartial," but later in the dispute they were asking that Lord Monckton be invited—though he declined the invitation—to preside over the negotiations "to advise, guide and control" the discussions, but not to have power to be final arbiter. Lord Monckton was for four years Tory Minister of Labour (described by the General Secretary of the railwaymen in 1955 as "a very able friend of the N.U.R.!") and is now chairman of the Midland Bank, which refuse to recognise the union of bank employees! Arbitration is established by the Government to settle industrial disputes and it cannot be impartial in the sense of deciding the merits of a case on some abstract principle of humanity. No such principles are laid down for the present court or the one abolished last year. The job of the arbitrators is to find a basis on which the workers can be persuaded to carry on working and the employers can keep in business—with, as an inescapable background, the continuation of Capitalism.

To illustrate the general confusion in the trade union movement it has only to be recalled that last year the T.U.C. and many trade union leaders were deriding the Government for abolishing the arbitration tribunal, which other unions declare they will not have anyway. The *Daily Herald* then (October 24th, 1958) called it a move to help the employers by abolishing the "referee to see fair play."

And in the present dispute Mr. Willis, in the matter of strike pickets, was calling on the Government to observe "strict impartiality" (*Times*, June 26th), as if a government committed to keeping Capitalism going (as all governments must be that take on the administration of Capitalism) could "impartially" stand aside and not defend the property rights of the propertied class.

The International Aspect

The fact is that the trade union movement still broadly accepts Capitalism though prepared to strike against the Capitalists. This was clearly shown by the attitude of the printing unions. They belong to the printing workers Trade Union International, the International Graphical Federation, and some at least of the continental unions acceded to the request that they should advise their members not to do "black" work sent abroad during the strike. But in the middle of the strike NATSOPA released a plan it had drawn up suggesting a deal between the British unions and the British employers. If the latter would concede the demands on hours and wages, in return the unions would cooperate on a joint productivity council: "The essence of the plan is that the prosperous big groups with stable and profitable home markets will help the small and medium printers, and particularly the printing concerns working on export printing. The plan should make British printers highly competitive in markets abroad." (*News Chronicle*, June 23rd, 1959.)

So the unions, while fighting the employers, are quite prepared to collaborate with them to capture foreign markets—where, of course, they will clash with foreign printers who, again with the collaboration of the workers, will be resisting the invasion and trying to counter attack. This, of course, makes nonsense of the object of the printers' trade union international: "To safeguard the economic, occupational and general interests of graphical workers in all countries and to promote their solidarity." (Our italics.)

In the nineteenth century Socialist critics of the trade union movement used to ridicule the illogicality of workers fighting the employers in the industrial field and electing the same people to Parliament and supporting them nationally. The present outlook of the trade unions shows that they have still a long way to go before they realise that the workers' interest demands real international working class solidarity against the employers—and for Socialism.

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The SOCIALIST PARTY needs money urgently for the General Election.

The work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

Twenty Years After

September's
"Socialist Standard"
will feature articles
on War in the
World Today

In association with
this there will be
3 public meetings

Denison House, Victoria

How Workers
Lost the War

7 p.m. Sunday, 6th September

The Peace that
Never Was

7 p.m. Sunday, 27th September

Problem of War

7.30 p.m. Monday, 21st September

Hackney Town Hall
Mare Street, E.8

To a New Reader

THE journal which you are now reading is published each month. For many years it has appeared as surely as night has followed day. Just as surely, each month a copy drifts into the hands of many who have not read it before. This copy has drifted into your hands for the first time, maybe at a street-corner propaganda meeting, from one of the all-too-few newsagents who stock it, or from one of the enthusiastic workers who sell it in the streets and at railway stations. It would be fair to assume that you are an anti-Socialist or non-Socialist; that you bought the SOCIALIST STANDARD because a particular article caught your eye, or because some question dealt with by a speaker interested you. Probably you did not buy it because you wanted to learn about Socialism. You "know" all there is to be known about *that* don't you? And yet, fellow-worker, you are reading a journal you have never seen before, describing itself as the official organ of the Socialist Party, which claims to be the only party in Great Britain organised for Socialism. Moreover, you will find in these columns the opinion implicitly and openly expressed that the reason for workers not supporting the Socialist Party is because they do not understand Socialism. Your reactions we can imagine. It is the first time you have read the SOCIALIST STANDARD, and, after all, you did think you knew about Socialism. You think us arrogant? And our claim to be the only party organised for Socialism just advertising ballyhoo, as it were. To call attention to our wares. Fellow-worker, our claims are not arrogant; we are not engaged in ballyhoo. Workers organised in this party are the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the only workers organised for Socialism.

What is Socialism?

You, fellow-worker, "know" all about Socialism, don't you?

You "know" that Socialism means "share and share alike," that is to say, that you should share your belongings with your neighbour. And knowing your neighbour you decide against Socialism. You "know" that Socialism means some vague mush about "loving your neighbour," and again looking at your

neighbour you feel uninspired. You "know" that Socialism means the destruction of initiative and inventiveness, and being young (or not so old) and ambitious you feel that the present order of things should not be upset. You "know" that Socialism means that woman would occupy a degraded position in the social arrangement. For hasn't the *Morning Rail* often turned your stomach in its description of the free love of the Socialists and the nationalisation of women. You "know" that Socialism has been tried in different parts of the earth. After all, the self-styled "Socialists" have said so.

Quite bluntly, fellow-worker, you know little or nothing about Socialism. In truth, if Socialism did mean the things which these mangled ideas try to express then the working men and women who are organised in the Socialist Party would turn to some other more intelligent pursuit.

Production for use

Socialism does not mean sharing out either goods or income. Such a conception implies a fixed amount of social wealth, out of which each took an equal share. Socialism means something fundamentally different from that. It means the social ownership of the means for producing wealth. Consider for a moment the factory in which you work. Each worker, out of perhaps many thousands, has his particular job to do. Yet no one worker produces the finished article, which the factory, as a whole, produces. Each worker plays his part, but the product is the result of the indispensable work of all. Production is a co-operative process. As in the factory, so in society generally. The work and life of the community is carried on by the workers as a whole. No one worker or group of workers is independent of the rest. One worker can play his part in steering a ship, but the labour of many thousands is required to build it. The worker who steers the ship could not do so without the builders. Production is social.

Yet outside the productive process is the class who *own* the means of production. It takes no part in social production and is unnecessary to it. Socialism means the *social* ownership of

the social means of production. This will eliminate the owning class. Quite a simple proposition to conceive, but profound and revolutionary in its implications. Far from Socialism meaning the sharing-out of some imaginary fixed quantity of wealth, social ownership will release the powers of production from the fetters of private ownership. It will bring into productive activity an enormous number of workers now engaged in unproductive labour. Production will expand to correspond to the people's needs. The people will take from the social store as they have need. Initiative and inventiveness will have the chance to thrive, instead, as now, of being dependent on the ability of the worker to sell his abilities to a capitalist. Cut-throat competition for jobs will no longer exist and the mushy sentiment of brotherly love will have an opportunity to acquire real meaning.

So we could go on, stating and answering the common objections to Socialism. But we want to do more than that. We want your interest. Whilst we tell you that you know nothing about Socialism your interest is perhaps not easy to obtain. But be patient. Ask yourself what time you have devoted to a study of the question. Is your conception of Socialism the result of independent thinking, or has it acquired shape from the influence of biased or coloured sources more interested in misrepresenting it. Think that out and be wary. Perhaps you have not had the time to study Socialism. However, you are reading the *Socialist Standard*, and we assume that you want knowledge, and want to assist in removing the social evils of capitalism if you knew how. We know that only Socialism will solve these problems. We know that Socialism *will* come. Make up your mind about that. More, the time will come when there can be no ordered intelligent living, no progress, no harmony in social relations, national or international, without Socialism. The lessons of the Socialist message will be learned through the experience of bitter struggle. That struggle can be eased and shortened by the spread of Socialist understanding. That is our responsibility. Yours is surely to examine our case. And that is what we ask you to do.

Socialist Standard

In the course of years we have answered all known objections to Socialism in the *Socialist Standard*. We can let you have back numbers if you wish.

Read the *Socialist Standard* for the next twelve months and you will be much nearer an understanding of our position than you are to-day. One issue may modify some popular misconception in your mind, but it would be insufficient to convince you of the soundness of our case. One prejudice we are certain will disappear—that working men and women cannot understand the meaning of the apparently complicated events around. They can. You can. We have. And we lay no claim to more than average brains. But we have devoted many years to the study of Socialism. We know something about it. You know little. Quite naturally; we should be in a similar position regarding a subject to

which you had devoted long study. We are not of superior intelligence. We do claim, however, that we have found ourselves on the road to Socialism (perhaps, in the first place by accident) and that you would be with us with a little guidance. We are workers drawn from representative occupations, miners, mechanics, carpenters, busmen, clerical workers, artists, housewives, and so forth. We have a case—the case for the social ownership of the means and instruments of production. Study our case and we are certain that you will soon be in the fight for Socialism.

H. W.

Reprinted from SOCIALIST STANDARD,
January, 1938.

ROBERT MACLOUGHLIN

ON 7th May, 1959, our old comrade Robert MacLoughlin died peacefully in his sleep.

Mac's life was an example of remarkable courage. He first joined the party in 1915; about the same time he was involved in an accident which eventually caused him to lose his sight and his hearing. Despite these handicaps, Mac kept his sense of humour and remained mentally and physically vigorous. He swam and took long country walks, lectured to blind clubs and served on the party's Executive Committee. He was a consistent attendee at propaganda meetings and conferences, and at one time was very active in the Trade Union movement.

In recent years he developed cancer and, although he fought against it in typical style, the illness took hold on him. He underwent a long time in hospital but still kept his interest in Socialism, donating his collection of books to our Head Office library and attending the 1958 Conference. He lived out his last days happy in the company of party members. No obituary of Mac should forget the comrades who cared for him, reading to him and taking him to meetings and for walks. "To all and everybody, thanks a million." That was how Mac ended his will.

A few weeks before his death, Mac told his friends that he was ready to die, satisfied that he had done his best. He chose as his epitaph:

I have done what I have done, because I could not have done much less, but might have done much more.

MRS. A. HOLLINGSHEAD

MRS. ANNIE HOLLINGSHEAD died in Edinburgh at the age of 91 years. This old Comrade was, for many years, active in the old Socialist Party of Canada. When a younger woman, she spoke in Calgary and Toronto. Last year, in a recorded message to the World Socialist Party Conference at Boston, U.S.A., she said it was still her ambition at the age of 90 to go on the Soap-box.

Mrs. Hollingshead was a very talented woman. She ran a business college in Calgary, and on her return to the "Old Country" in the 1920's taught languages, shorthand-typing, and music. Her home in Edinburgh was made freely available to any member and sympathiser. She was the Edinburgh Group secretary up to within a few months of her death. Her keenness and enthusiasm for Socialist propaganda in her sprightly old age is an object lesson to young members. If anything, she became more active as she became older.

Mrs. Hollingshead was very generous to the S.P.G.B. When funds were lower than usual a few years ago she came to the rescue with a substantial donation. Members affectionately referred to her as "the old lady from Edinburgh"—a kind of Socialist institution. Comrades from Overseas always made their way to her home, and she had a warm welcome for everyone. Her greatest difficulty in recent years was her inability to get to the Mound where the outdoor meetings were held by members from Glasgow.

Socialism kept Mrs. Hollingshead young in heart. She looked to the future with that irrepressible optimism possessed only by Socialists. Hers was a useful life.

FILMS

Angry Young Men

SINCE the War a type of young man has appeared on the social scene whom the Press have been pleased to call The Angry Young Man. They are disillusioned individuals, who, out of a posh education and great expectations, have developed certain resentments about the post-war world. We know that all kinds of people can become angry about all kinds of things. What makes these particular young men so special?

For one thing they are fortunate in having the background that has enabled them to vent their anger through the medium of books, plays, and films. By focussing considerable attention on aspects of society they dislike, they have gained the admiration of some who see their own dissatisfactions reflected, and the hostility of others who see them as ungrateful to the system that gave them the opportunity to do so. They are fortunate, too, for anger has proved to be a successful commercial proposition.

Disillusionment

It appears that they have been the victims of one of Capitalism's confidence tricks. Educated, often at Universities, during the period immediately after the war, they had high hopes for the future. They knew all about the bad old days of depression and unemployment, but with the war itself behind them, things were going to be different. For a Labour Government was in power and the foundation for the Welfare State well laid. And then there was the United Nations Organisation to look after the international situation; everything was shaping-up nicely. War, unemployment, hard times, class distinction, these were things of the past. At that time you even heard talk of a social revolution having taken place! Surely, with their liberal education and social consciences they would count for something in the "new society."

Disillusionment came quickly. Labour was soon on the way out, the big powers were re-arming again, UNO turned out to be ineffective. The class system was still there and it all seemed very familiar. They looked in vain for the new society. In fact, an increasingly technological society hadn't much use for them. They looked back and wondered; what went wrong?

"Look Back in Anger"

The play *Look Back in Anger* by John Osborne was first performed on the stage in 1956 and is now a film. Its main character, the embittered Jimmy Porter, has reacted by resorting to a sweet-stall in a local market place for his living. The tone of the film is set by his frequent attacks on the snobbery, selfishness, and hypocrisy of "middle class" values. He is married to the daughter of a retired Indian Army Officer and this gives him ample opportunity to do so. The author presents the victim here as an individual thwarted by the values of a class-ridden society.

And where do we go from there? This film doesn't go anywhere. This is the blind alley that teems with rebels with no causes, disenchanted political reformers, and left-wing intellectuals. All this anger may be a change from the all-too-prevalent general apathy, but it should not blind anyone to the failure to offer a logical criticism of present society, or to even imply that any other is possible. Whether or not this is the job of a playwright, films and plays like this are seen by millions of people, and if discontent about the shortcomings of society can be canalised into anger that leads to nowhere, it is ineffective. The work then appears as a series of eloquent pot-shots. But merely to decry them will not make targets disappear.

Socialists are concerned with people, but we realise that to achieve a truly

humanitarian society, its most important function—the production and distribution of wealth—must be put on a social basis. Of course Capitalism is ridden with anti-social ideas, but those who think that you can have a system based upon exploitation for private gain without them—and these idealists believe just that—will have to think again.

This principal motive of the system contaminates everything it touches—which is most things. The attitudes and actions of people reflect the social system under which they live: human behaviour is determined by social conditions. Look after the system and the values will look after themselves.

Reason for Anger

That is why we are concerned with a new society. Only thereby can worthwhile human relationships arise. The irony of the position of the Angry Young Men is that they subscribe to the very system whose essential institutions give rise to the attitudes they dislike. They will look everywhere for the causes of social problems except the place that really matters.

But what will happen to the young rebels? In the play—this and other observations were eliminated from the film—the religious attitude is described as having "... moved into a cosy little cottage of the soul, cut right off from the ugly problems of the twentieth century altogether." It is worth remembering that the "angries" of one generation have a habit of becoming the cynical and detached of the next. They usually look back wistfully, "I was a bit of a rebel in my youth, you know."

S. D.



What is Democracy?

Most people support, usually in some vague, ill-defined way, the principle of democracy. However, if one questions people as to exactly what democracy is, the replies are varied and usually unhelpful. Majority rule; the rights of minorities; the freedoms of speech, thought and the press; the right to vote; the right to organise in Trade Unions—all these will be mentioned by one person or another as being essential ingredients of democracy. Democracy, though, has become such a dangerous, emotionally-charged word that McCarthy carried out his witch-hunts under its banner, workers slaughter each other in its name, and people are incarcerated in gaols and prison-camps in defence of its holy writ.

Confusion

It is a confusing concept that permits the perpetration of slavery in the name of freedom, slaughter in the name of peace, oppression in the name of tolerance, and what is perhaps more important, minority government in the name of majority rule.

In this country, the result of the party system so far has been that power has remained in the hands of the "right" people. The Labour, Tory and Liberal parties, either as Her Majesty's Government or Her Majesty's Opposition, are pledged to the support of the *status quo*—which means the continued subjection of the working class and the preservation of the sanctity of private property.

Basically, of course, the reason that enables these parties to continue in this way is the passive support of workers for the kind of world that we have today. Although workers may grumble and agitate about specific problems, and even join large-scale protest movements about such things as the H-bomb, it is only among Socialists that one finds a

conscious desire for complete social change.

In other words, the theory of democratic control by a majority means in practice a rigid control by a minority supported by the passive acquiescence of the majority. In this sense "democracy" is a hollow term which cloaks class ownership.

Of course, the ruling class and government know this better than most, and consequently play on workers' acquiescence and apathy through the vast means at their disposal—the press, radio, cinema, television and so on. Every

DARWIN CENTENARY

The "*Origin of Species*" was published in November 1859

November's Socialist Standard will be a special issue on

DARWINISM & SOCIALISM

kind of phony idea and concept is dinned into the working class by these means—"patriotism" (not so effective now, this one); "gracious living"; "getting on"; "making a world fit for heroes to live in";—all these, and a thousand more, bombard workers from all directions.

Hard Won Rights

This is not to suggest that the hard-won gains of adult suffrage, secret voting, organisation of Trade Unions, freedom of speech, and so on, are not important. Of course they are, but it is equally important to realise that they were not granted to the working class by philanthropic, liberal-minded rulers who were abdicating their power. They were wrested from the ruling class after

years of struggle, and the dead of Peterloo, the Tolpuddle martyrs, and all those who have suffered for such causes bear witness to the fact that it is the working people themselves that must work out their own destiny.

Paradoxically enough, these hard-won rights are often used as a justification for our rulers to enlist our support in fighting wars or oppressing others. But of one thing the workers can be sure—wars are not fought over democracy or democratic rights. This appears obvious from the war-time line-ups of states—some ostensibly "democratic" and others flagrant dictatorships. So in the last war, one could find varieties of both specimens on either side of the front. Similarly, today one finds that countries such as Portugal and Spain are looked upon as allies, while in South America, the many dictatorships are often in alliance with "democratic" America.

Perhaps the most important thing to remember is that terms like "freedom" and "democracy" are not absolute and must be examined in their social context. To talk of "freedom" today, in a world of social and economic class domination, is as absurd as talking of the "democracy" of the Western capitalist countries, all of whom practice in one form or another the suppression of minorities and the flouting of majority wishes.

Limited Meaning

So it is that, under capitalism, democracy can have only the most limited of meanings, and is usually given a meaning and justification that is completely opposed to its theoretical principles.

The principles of majority rule and the recognition of the rights of minorities can only really achieve practical fruition in a world freed from economic and social domination. It is only with the establishment of socialism that people will be able consciously to effect their wishes through democratic practice. Only then will today's empty and hollow cry of "democracy" bear a meaning worthy of human organisation.

A. W. I.





...from the branches

BLOOMSBURY

BLOOMSBURY BRANCH will not meet during August, but will be holding a discussion after branch business on Thursday September 3rd. C. Kilner will open the first discussion of the winter season at 8.30 p.m. Subject: "Hospitals—Why?" On Thursday October 1st E. Kersley will talk on "Who Pays for the Arts?" The Branch room is a comfortable one and Conway Hall is easily accessible and Comrades and sympathisers are assured of an interesting evening.

EALING

EALING BRANCH remind visitors that meetings will be held at The Royal Oak public house, Ealing Broadway (opposite Bentalls) on Fridays August 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th. From September 4th onwards, their meetings will be held at the usual venue—Memorial Hall, Windsor Road, Ealing W.5.

FULHAM AND CHELSEA

OWING to temporary domestic difficulties the branch will not be able to meet at the usual address until the end of 1959 or early 1960. One meeting has been arranged during the summer at a public house. The address, and ways and means of getting there, may be obtained from L. Cox, 22, Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road. Tel. Slo. 5258. The meeting place may only be temporary, that is the reason why it is not being given in the *Socialist Standard*. Comrade Cox, the Branch Secretary, will be pleased to answer any enquiries from the address given above.

NOTTINGHAM

NOTTINGHAM BRANCH members are working energetically and during this outdoor season, are having excellent meetings, supported by Comrades from London whenever possible. The good weather has been a helpful factor of course, but the members are very keen. For example, during the week-end July 11th and 12th Comrades Baldwin and

D'Arcy held meetings supported by the Branch members and other Comrades from London. Over two pounds worth of literature was sold and one of the London Comrades was particularly pleased to see Comrade Clarke, who as usual, had come along from Burton on Trent, to give his always welcome support.

"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

THE second meeting of writers and others interested in the production of the STANDARD was held at Head Office on Monday June 29th. Not so many Comrades attended on this occasion, partly due to the fact that a discussion was being held at H.O. on the same evening. However many good points were raised and useful ideas exchanged, although some articles on specific subjects were promised, they have not arrived to-date. The next meeting is being held on Monday July 27th at 8 p.m. and the Production Committee will be glad to receive ideas and articles!

"20 YEARS AFTER"

DENISON HOUSE MEETINGS. On Sundays September 6th and 27th at 7 p.m., the Propaganda Committee have arranged two meetings. The theme of these meetings will be on War, and the September SOCIALIST STANDARD will have emphasis on this subject. It is twenty years since the outbreak of World War II and as workers are likely to be reminded of this, the Party is making special propaganda plans to bring to their notice our attitude on this aspect of capitalism.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS

THE Propaganda Committee is considering running outdoor mid-day meetings at Leather Lane market (near the City). Any members who can speak at such meetings, or attend during the week to support or sell literature are asked to contact the Propaganda Committee and let them know to what extent they can assist.

P. H.

"Fifty Years Ago"

RUSSIAN DESPOTISM

THE visit of Nicholas Romanoff will doubtless have taken place before these lines appear.

We deny that the TSAR is "Our Guest." He is solely the guest of our enemies, the Capitalist Class, and the "Hand of England" (which, to-day, is that of the class who own and rule) can hardly be further or deeper stained by grasping the bloody hand of a brother in exploitation and repression.

The Capitalists of Western Europe are equally guilty with Russian Despotism, Germany in South West Africa and Poland; Belgium on the Congo; France in Morocco; England in India and Ireland; each can parallel Russian Atrocities.

The ruling class of each country use the surest and most deadly means of repression that are suited to their circumstances and the Government here would repeat the worst Russian Atrocities in England if it could thus strengthen its position.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
August 1909.

NOTICES

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

Publication Date

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

MEETINGS

"TWENTY YEARS AFTER"

Public Meetings on War

Denison House, Victoria, S.W.1

Sundays September 6th & 27th at 7 p.m.

Assembly Hall, Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, E.8.

Monday September 21st at 7.30 p.m.

(for details see page 122)

BLOOMSBURY BRANCH

Discussions, Conway Hall (North Room),

Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

First Thursday in each month, 8.30 p.m.

September 3rd. "Hospitals - Why?"

C. Kilner

October 1st. "Who pays for the Arts?"

E. Kersley

November 5th. "Are the Workers Worse Off?"

G. Arthur

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	Aug. 2nd, 23rd, 30th	12 noon
	Aug. 9th	11 a.m.
	Aug. 16th	1 p.m.
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill	12.30—2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road	8 p.m.
Fridays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.
	Roper Street, Eltham	3 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings and evenings.

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BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Correspondence: Secretary, Flat 1, 23 Cambridge Road, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (from Sept. 3) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. No meetings in August.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. For August meetings see Branch News, Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (Aug. 14) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Aug. 12 and 26) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Aug. 10 and 24) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (Aug. 12 and 26) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays (Aug. 5 and 19) 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Aug. 4), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Aug. 18), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Aug. 14 and 28) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHELtenham. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnsden Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakley, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. 3rd Tuesday (Aug. 17) in month, 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL & REIGATE. Enquiries: C. E. Smith, 88 Chart Lane, Reigate.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelly, Glam.

PREPARING FOR THE ELECTION

Party Politics

THERE is a well-known series of advertisements which advise any young man who has his eye on a girl looking like a model from *Vogue* that his chances are much improved by wearing a suit from a certain mass production tailor. When the competition is stiff, we are told, appearance counts. Political parties learned this lesson long ago; with a general election expected during the next few months they are all busily straightening their ties, smoothing their hair and adjusting their buttonholes.

TAKE-OVER BID

The Labour Party has been trying to make something over the recent spate of take-over bids, which forced up some share prices and yielded a nice profit to those shareholders who sold at the right time. In the House of Commons on 29th June, Mr. Harold Wilson moved a Labour motion which described take-over bids and excessive speculation as undesirable. He attacked the "golden handshake" which displaced directors receive and contrasted this with the compensation which a redundant miner or mule spinner could expect. A simple soul would conclude that the Labour Party really opposed the privileged access to wealth which is part and parcel of capitalism. Yet what effect did their last period of rule have on this problem? At a meeting in Leeds on 3rd May, 1953—two years after the fall of the Labour Government—Mr. Hugh Gaitskell stated that there were 9 million people with an annual income of less than £500—and two thousand who were getting at least £20,000 a year.

THE H-BOMB

The Labour Party is also in something of a fix over the hydrogen bomb. Several large trade unions have decided in favour of Great Britain abandoning nuclear weapons and it seems safe to say that a lot of Labour Party members think likewise. But there are two big snags. Firstly, the Labour leaders probably feel that, if the unilateral and unconditional renunciation of the bomb were adopted into their programme, they would certainly lose the election.

Secondly, if they *did* decide to abandon the bomb and then won the election, the diplomatic emergencies of British capitalism could force them to break their promise. Mr. Bevan, who fancies himself as a Labour Foreign Secretary, has summed it up by pleading that he did not want to be sent naked into the international conferences.

To overcome these problems, the Labour Party have revised an idea which they rejected some seven months ago; they will try to get an agreement with countries which have no bomb, or are about to test one, not to test, manufacture or possess nuclear weapons. Nothing in the history of disarmament conferences encourages us to think that this scheme would solve the problem of nuclear warfare. Indeed, the Labour Party recognise that France and China want a bomb of their own and "we can hardly deny these nations the right to follow our example." Apart from this, Russia and America would keep their nuclear weapons and American bases—presumably armed with hydrogen bombs and missiles—would still be allowed in this country. In straightforward, human terms the problem of the hydrogen bomb

TRUTH WILL OUT!

It must be well over twenty years since the Conservative press took to talking about the "Socialist party" and "Socialist members" instead of using the more accurate name Labour. The term "Socialist" was no doubt fostered to give the impression of a party of doctrinaire fanatics. The rose by some other name might smell less sweet. The oddity is that it should have persisted for so long, for it seems rarely to have upset Labour supporters any more than the term "Tory" upsets the Conservatives.

Now the first crack in the armour has appeared. Close readers of the *Daily Telegraph* will have noticed that in the last few days the term "Labour" has been substituted for "Socialist," and that is how the party is to be named in future reports. Perhaps the *Daily Telegraph* feels that on our sunlit Conservative upland the term "Labour" brings to mind cloth caps and smoky chimneys and will repel voters (and readers) even more than "Socialist." Or maybe it is yet another sign that the Labour Party has become respectable. It will be interesting to see whether other "Tory" newspapers follow the lead.

—*Manchester Guardian*, 6th July, 1959.

is simple—to destroy ourselves or to live. But organisations like the Labour Party, which have the responsibility of running British capitalism, cannot judge things in human terms. That is why their statement ends with "... we realise the importance of not tying the hands of a future Labour Government or committing them to any precise or detailed diplomatic plan." If British capitalism needs it, Mr. Bevan will have his nuclear clothing, even if a lot of human beings lose their skin as a result.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Lest we forget, the Tories have also been putting on the style. Apart from having their laugh at the Labour Party's difficulties, they have been throwing some meaty blows of their own. Replying to Mr. Wilson on 29th June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the numbers of registered unemployed had fallen to 413,000. This was harsh medicine to the Labour Party, for they once gave a lot of heavy warnings about the Tories deliberately provoking unemployment. But most workers, whatever other problems capitalism may dump on them, are happy in their work; the decrease probably meant a lot to them. The Chancellor did not mention that 413,000 unemployed is still about 150,000 more than when the Tories took over; to have done so would have been out of keeping with the joy of the occasion. And the Tories are joyful; even confident, as the days go by and the statistics come in and Labour squabbles with itself and Mr. Macmillan seems more and more in control of things, more and more elegant and, but for the grey hairs, almost like the young man who gets the girl in the traitor's advertisement.

At the next election, the working class will decide which party's appearance is the most appealing and we shall have a Labour or a Conservative government and capitalism will stay with us. Some voters think that only certain politicians make a mess of things; in fact, the whole of the capitalist system is a mess. It is working class ignorance and apathy which keeps that mess there; and, ironically, it is the working class who are left to pick the bones out of it.

IVAN.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Socialists are completely opposed to war and to what war represents

The Inhumanity of War



KOREA 1950

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

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Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

SEPTEMBER 1959

All modern wars are the outcome of economic clashes within Capitalism. As this month is the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the last world war, the effects of which are still with us, most of the articles in this issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD concern the Socialist attitude to war.

The Inhumanity of War

WAR can solve no working class problem. It cuts across the fundamental identity of interest of the workers of the world, setting sections of this class at enmity with each other in the interests of sections of the capitalist class.

War elevates force into the position of arbiter in place of the common human desire for mutual peace and happiness. Its effect is wholly evil. It depraves all the participants by forcing them to concentrate upon the best methods of producing misery and of annihilating each other.

War elevates lying, cheating, disabling and murdering opponents into virtues, confers distinctions upon those who practise these means most successfully.

Young men and women, in their most impressionable years, have the vile methods of warfare impressed upon them so thoroughly that they lose a balanced outlook on life and are impregnated with the idea that force, with all its baseness, and not reason is the final solution in all problems.

Socialism is completely opposed to war and to what war represents. At the same time it is the only solution to the conditions that breed war. It is a new form of society in which the people of the world will work harmoniously together for their mutual benefit, for there will be neither privilege nor property to cause enmity.

No coercion will be needed in Socialism because each will gain from co-operating harmoniously with his fellows. But it is a new social system that demands understanding of its implications from those who seek to establish it.

With the establishment of Socialism war will disappear and humanity will have taken the first step out of the jungle.

Statement issued by the SPGB in September, 1939

The Socialist Party and the War

IN this, our first issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD since the declaration of war, we have the opportunity of re-affirming the Socialist attitude that we have consistently maintained since the formation of the party, including the war of 1914-1918. With the increasing international tension of recent years we have again and again pressed home the undeniable truth that as long as the world is organised on a capitalist economic basis the never-ceasing rivalries will continue to produce conflicts ranging from mere diplomatic crises to gigantic armed struggles spreading over the oceans and continents of the world. The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN re-affirms that the interest of the world working class—on whom the untold misery and suffering of war inevitably falls—lies in abolishing the capitalist economic system.

The present conflict is represented in certain quarters as one between "freedom" and "tyranny" and for the rights of small nations.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN is fully aware of the sufferings of German workers under Nazi rule, and wholeheartedly supports the efforts of workers everywhere to secure democratic rights against the powers of suppression, but the history of the past decades shows the futility of war as a means of safeguarding democracy. After the last Great War—described as the war to end war, and as a war to make the world safe for democracy—the retention of capitalism resulted in the building up of new tyrannies and terrorisms through the inability of the capitalist States to solve the problems created by the system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution and the competitive scramble for raw materials, markets and control of trade routes. So little did the last war achieve its alleged purpose that the man who was prominently associated with the Allied victory and the claim that that war would be the last—Mr. Lloyd George—now has to confess that even this war may not be the last war. Writing in the *Sunday Express* (September 10th), Mr. Lloyd George says:—

It is only just over 20 years ago that France and Britain signed the armistice with Germany which brought to an end the bloodiest war in history. They are now fighting essentially the same struggle again.

Germany is again the aggressor. Once more it is a fight for international right—the recognition of the equal right of nations, weak as well as strong, to lead their own independent lives so long as they do not interfere with the rights of their neighbours.

This conflict has gone on periodically since the dawn of history. It will go on for many centuries to come unless and until mankind accepts that principle as one of the irrefragable commandments of humanity.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN calls on the workers of the world to refuse to accept this prospect, and calls upon them to recognise that only Socialism will end war.

Among those who support the present war is the British Labour Party, who long ago declared that the peace treaties of the last war contained the germs of a future war. At one time the Labour Party, in its "Labour Speakers' Handbook" (1922) declared that the "unjust territorial arrangements" of the Peace Treaties must be rectified, including the return of Danzig and other Polish territory to Germany and the return of other Polish territory to Russia, in accordance with the principle of "self-determination."

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds that neither the doctrine of "self-determination," which the Labour Party then claimed had been violated by the Peace Treaties, nor the German claim for a new carving-up of Europe, nor any other policy for settling minority problems and international rivalries within the framework of capitalism, is capable of bringing peace and democracy to the peoples of the world. Another war would be followed by new Treaties forced on the vanquished by the victors, and by preparations for further wars, new dictatorships and terrorism.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN therefore pledges itself to continue its work for Socialism, and reiterates the call it issued on the outbreak of war in 1914:—

"Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow-workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism."

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S.P.G.B.
September 24th, 1939.

* * * * *

THE GENERAL ELECTION

The SOCIALIST PARTY needs money urgently for the General Election.

The work is going on NOW. Every week we are spending more money in Bethnal Green—and this is only preliminary to the final attack in which the candidate's deposit alone will cost us £150.

But—we only have a fraction of the money we need. If you want to strike a blow against Capitalism with us, please send whatever you can to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., 52, CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

HIROSHIMA & NAGASAKI—THE BACKGROUND

A Gruesome Experiment?

"We take no pride in being able to massacre millions of our fellow human beings, to poison the air, to cripple the children of the future. We find no safety in weapons designed only for wars that nobody can win..."

THESE words from the leaflet announcing the second Aldermaston March, expressed the feeling of the idealistic element of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Heard above the suave evasions of politicians, and the arrogant threats of generals, this call, to those enchanted, seemed the golden echo of truth itself; promising in victory, a finer and happier life for Man.

How and why did this protest arise? What has it achieved? Will it set the foot of Man on the long-sought path of Peace and Happiness?

To answer these questions one must go back to see how it came into being and how it has grown.

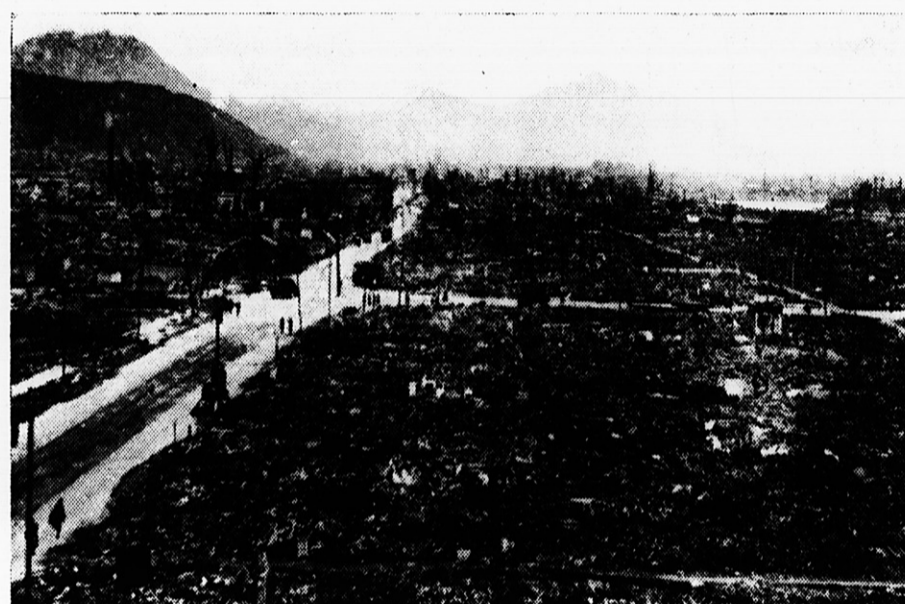
THE FIRST ATOMIC BOMB

On July 16th, 1945, in the New Mexico desert, the Los Alamos scientists successfully exploded the first atomic device. Reports of this were hurried to President Truman at the Potsdam Conference. After consulting his advisers he gave authority to an air force group, in special training since the autumn of 1944, to prepare to use the atomic bombs.

In the early days of August, from a warship in mid-Atlantic, Truman gave the final order to begin the atomic bombing of selected Japanese cities. At the earliest indication of clear weather over Hiroshima, a B-29 was dispatched. A uranium bomb, assembled in the air on the way to the target, was dropped. Hiroshima on the morning of August 6th, 1945, became the first atomic crematorium. The "new weapon of special destructive force" which Truman had casually mentioned to Stalin, was a secret no longer.

The Russian government, fearing a belated American attempt to deprive it

of some of the spoils of Yalta, hastened to declare war on Japan. A right to participate in the final share-out of the Far Eastern loot; a desire to safeguard their sphere of influence, these were the main concerns of the Russian rulers. No protest at a sickening outrage. No sorrow expressed at the agonies of the Hiroshima victims, the seared, stunned survivors; the radio-active remnants of what had been men, women and little children! So much for the party of



HIROSHIMA, August 1945

Imperial War Museum

Lenin and Stalin in the glorious fight for Peace!

Truman's other allies, the British ruling class, their interests now in the care of a Labour Government, watched, from afar, the results of their joint scientific and industrial enterprise. Three days after Hiroshima, Attlee's representative, Group Captain Cheshire, was present at

LORD ATTLEE AND THE BOMB

"He [Mr. Truman] had to take the decision about the atom bomb. It is questioned sometimes. In my view, in the light of the knowledge we had at that time, he was absolutely right."

Lord Attlee at a Pilgrims' Dinner (July 21st, 1956) reported in "Daily Telegraph" (July 22nd, 1956).

the bombing of Nagasaki, where a plutonium bomb, operating on a new principle, was used.

Public awareness of the circumstances in which the atomic bombs were dropped on Japan has always been limited by the facile myth that these bombs were necessary to break the back of Japanese resistance, thereby saving Allied lives. Japan was, in fact, on the verge of collapse.

A GRUESOME EXPERIMENT?

Was the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, towns on a carefully selected list of possible targets, a gruesome experiment? A callous scheme of sections of the American military, designed to discover the respective merits of different kinds of atomic bombs when used against densely-populated industrial centres?

Was the atomic bombing a practical demonstration of American technical superiority in warfare to warn the Russian rulers against expansion which might further encroach upon American spheres of influence?

Whatever answers posterity may yield, however intricate the web of truth, to Socialists, there is no word, no line, to justify this deed. Nothing can excuse the roasting of the newly-born or the incineration of infants at play, the slaughter of thousands.

Whatever may have been the reasons, political, economic, military or personal, that may have moved the principal actors to speak the lines and play the parts they did, to Socialists one thing is the essential point. This war and all its misery and fire, was rooted in

capitalism.

It is not the villainy of militarists, the schemings of armament kings, the bellicosity of dictators, the ineptitude of statesmen, that is the cause of war in the modern world. It is not deceptions practised upon honest by dishonest politicians.

It was not the manoeuvrings of Roosevelt and Churchill nor the embargo placed upon raw materials for Japan in 1941 and all the machinations on both sides of the Pacific leading up to the "surprise" attack on Pearl Harbour that were the causes of war in the Far East.

STRUGGLE FOR MARKETS

Basically, the cause of the war, which led to the bestiality of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was the conflict between the different national groups of capitalists, each aiming to improve its position in the relentless struggle to maintain or expand its control over markets and sources of raw materials. Little territory or resources, easily exploitable, remained to the nations such as Germany, Italy and Japan which had come late to the table.

To satisfy their growing appetites, arising from industrial and commercial expansion, the senior predators, they thought, must yield to them a large share of the economic fruits of earlier piracy.

The Japanese forces slowly advancing into Indo-China were a menace to American, British, Chinese and Dutch interests in the islands and archipelagoes of South East Asia, fabulously rich in raw materials. Rubber, tin, nickel, oil and the like were never absent from the calculations of all concerned. The Japanese sought to control the Chinese mainland and to bring all South East Asia under their economic and cultural sway, by force of arms, if necessary.

In the West, if Germany over-ran Europe, the American rulers would find their long-term interests threatened, by a colossus commanding vast technical and industrial resources. A bitter struggle therefore ensued. The bomb and the bayonet became the means to convince where the honeyed modulations of sleek and urbane ambassadors had failed.

The attack on Pearl Harbour, the possibility of which American admirals had been discussing since the early thirties, helped to persuade the ordinary American people, who like people everywhere else, had no desire to become involved in war, that war was necessary

in the interest of the nation as a whole. The Pearl Harbour attack roused the American people to a fury; they were in the war before they knew what it was all about. To the American man in the street the atomic bombing was a justified reprisal for the Japanese attack four years earlier. Thus does violence breed violence.

RUSSIA

It must not be thought that Russia comes into conflict with the other powers because of ideological reasons; because its social system is alleged to be "Socialist."

Russia is a capitalist country. All the basic features of capitalism exist there; class monopoly of the means of production, backed-up by a powerful state apparatus, the dominance of commodity production and the profit motive, the subjection of the majority to wage-labour, the "anarchy of production" called "state-planning"; all are there.

All modern nations have these basic attributes. They may have particular features arising from the different national and economic backgrounds from which capitalism developed in each country. Each emerging capitalist class was born into a certain historical situation. The new industrial capitalists of England in the nineteenth century had the world at their feet; the later arrivals to the capitalist jungle, while having advantages in being able to learn and apply the latest techniques, found themselves surrounded by already entrenched rivals.

It is not what men think or say about themselves that is crucial to the analysis of a social system. It is how they are related to other men about the means of production, what role they play in the productive process, what, in fact, they do. In struggling with the traditional capitalist groups of the world, the top-ranking Communist Party bureaucrats, and politicians, the military, and industrial senior executives, in short, representatives of Russian capitalism, are different in no fundamental way. They are all as helpless to prevent war, and all as ruthless in its prosecution when diplomacy has failed.

FOR SOCIALISM

Socialists want no part of this nightmare world. Socialists are opposed to war, whether nuclear or "conventional" weapons are used.

3 public meetings

Twenty Years After

Denison House

296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, SW1

Sundays 6 & 27 September 7pm

6 September

HOW WORKERS LOST THE WAR

R. Coster, E. Grant

27 September

THE PEACE THAT NEVER WAS

J. D'Arcy, H. Young

Hackney Town Hall

Maro Street, E8

Monday 21 September 7-30pm

THE THREAT OF WAR AND YOUR VOTE

R. Ambridge, J. Read

The solution however, does not lie in the banning of a specific kind of weapon. Weapons are only necessary in a world of capitalist competition. The real enemy is the social system that breeds it. Our task is to keep the issue clear. To insist on the need for a society without privilege, poverty, or war. We take our stand solely for socialism.

B.

PASSCHENDAELE—1917

In Flanders Field

"GREAT MAN" myths have a habit, disturbing for the staid in mind, of toppling to the ground. Generals, politicians and other famous public figures are found, usually some time after their period of usefulness is over, to have feet of clay. The more incisive historical enquiries uncover lies, intrigue and treachery: and the myths collapse, though usually too late to have any practical effect. It is, however, never too late to learn; and perhaps the unmasking of the Great Men of yesterday might make us a little suspicious of to-day's Pillars of the Establishment. The latest victims of the fashionable literary pastime of debunking are the generals and politicians of 1917, and particularly Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig.

In Flanders Fields, by LEON WOLFF, Longmans, 25s. is a very fine conscientious piece of muck-raking. It is not a book about war generally, it is a detailed, well-documented account of the prominent men and important events of 1917. The main theme of the book is the policy of "attrition" and its consequences for the soldiers taking part. The great exponent of this policy of wearing down the enemy by repeated offensives was Haig, and its principal opponent Lloyd George (at that time Prime Minister). There is a larger theme, usually implied but occasionally

explicit as in the quotation from Carlyle at the end of the book; that wars are fought in the interests of ruling groups, and that the majority of the participants are but pawns in a very dirty game.

The end of 1916 found the armies in France and Belgium more firmly dug-in than ever. A system of trenches, dug-outs, pill-boxes and barbed-wire stretched for hundreds of miles, and many miles deep. In spite of the horrible battles of 1915 and 1916 the Allied Generals were as determined as ever to break the German lines. The French started their offensive first; and as at the Somme, the result was ghastly failure. There were more serious consequences for the French Government than defeat in battle, for the French soldiers decided that they had had enough. They mutinied in tens of thousands, and the ringleaders were shot in hundreds. One group, numbering 750, were sent to a quiet part of the front line and there massacred by their own artillery. These incidents were to provide Haig with some good excuses later. He was to need them; particularly perhaps to quiet his own conscience.

Passchendaele

The main British effort was directed at breaking the German line in Flanders and capturing the Channel ports of

Ostend and Zeebrugge. Haig hoped that after the initial break-through squadrons of cavalry would be able to chase the Germans and turn retreat into rout, thereby breaking the stale-mate that had existed on the Western front since December, 1914. The offensive started on July 31st, and continued for fifteen weeks. The ground, in peace-time carefully drained by an extensive system of ditches and canals, quickly returned to marshland under the heavy bombardment. At the end of one of the bitterest battles ever waged an enormous number of soldiers were placed in a salient, only a few miles deep, more dangerous than the Ypres salient from which they started. Passchendaele, a heap of rubble, was captured after ninety-eight days. The offensive resulted, according to one official estimate, in 448,000 casualties on the British side; the author estimates that the small French forces under Haig's command lost 50,000, and the Germans 250,000. It was usual that about a third of the casualties were killed or died of wounds, so that for a piece of muddy ground 250,000 men were killed, and a further 500,000 wounded or captured. It is fair to point out that other estimates, more favourable to Haig (showing more dead Germans, and less British) have been made by other historians; after reading this book it is difficult to place any reliance on them. Many of the wounded (no one knows how many) were drowned in the shell-holes, unable to drag themselves to safety. They died slow, miserable deaths, making feeble efforts to resist the clinging, sticky mud.

The author thinks that the war was being fought for objects that were "demonstrably trivial" a view that is based on a mistaken conception of how



PASSCHENDAELE, 14 November 1917

Imperial War Museum

and why Capitalism goes to war. Where there are avowed "war aims" they may be only a cloak for objects which are not openly stated because it would be more difficult to get people to fight for them. There were important issues at stake; Europe had not been torn apart because of an assassination: and there were more important reasons for Britain's entry into the war than the preservation of Belgian neutrality.

Several questions are raised by the book, and if not answered in full at least plenty of material is provided to help supply the answers. Why did the British Government allow Haig to continue his hopeless offensive? Why could not Lloyd George remove Haig from his post? And what was the attitude of the Welsh Wizard towards the war?

Lloyd George, the War-Monger

On one thing Haig and Lloyd George were in full agreement—they were both determined to smash Germany. Lloyd George's weepings over the fallen can be treated sceptically; if more concrete results could have been obtained he would no doubt have been quite prepared to send more millions to their deaths. He had already rejected peace negotiations with Germany, and indeed was placed in power because he was in favour of vigorous prosecution of the war. Characteristically, he would no doubt have made his (written) reservations about such a victory that would conveniently have found a place later in his memoirs. Though Lloyd George had once acquired a reputation as a "peace lover" by opposing the war against the Boer republic in South Africa he was quite prepared, along with the rest of his party, to forget about tolerance and humanity for the duration.

Haig, Blood-Merchant

And what of Haig, the man who gave the orders in June, 1917 that led to the deaths of 250,000 men? He deserves a mention, for he was in his day a Great Man, a leading actor in the sordid tragedy of 1914-18; unfortunately a tragedy that is no mere stage-piece. Capitalism lives by savage rules, and millions died so that Britain and France could dominate Europe. Haig did not take a personally tragic part in the events of 1917, being merely relegated after the war to an Earldom, inaction and (by ruling-class warrior standards) an early death. He never occupied any

official post after 1920, but in his heyday he was the darling of the ruling-class. How Lord Northcliffe's papers fawned on Haig in 1917! How *The Times* (and the Top People) loved him! For a few months during that autumn *The Times*

For a socialist analysis
of war read

SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

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acclaimed a tremendous victory for every move Haig's armies made, every pile of rubble captured, every few yards of mud gained.

Haig was a cavalry officer, and this explains much about his mentality and methods. He had joined a fashionable regiment, married a Queen's lady-in-waiting, and was the favourite of Kings—and of Kitchener. He owed his position more to influence than military ability. He grew up in the secure world of late-Victorian England, where military exploits were romantic adventures undertaken in far-off countries against enormous hordes of ill-trained, ill-armed tribesmen. (The hordes would be lucky if they possessed the fire-power of one machine-gun.) A very special kind of military tradition was built up in England; the Army was a shell fired by the navy! Secure in their sea communications, small forces would be sent all over the world; and from this grew Britain's tremendous superiority in overseas bases. What was an advantage in Empire-building became however a positive disadvantage when engaging in a war with another great industrial power.

Haig was a part of this tradition, ideas were modified slowly (from the Boer war the generals gained an exaggerated respect for massed cavalry) new technical innovations were almost beneath the dignity of high-ranking generals. India, South Africa, Omdurman provided a very poor apprenticeship for Ypres and the Somme. Haig with his rigid, Army-trained mind, was incapable of appreciating that cavalry were useless against machine-guns, earthworks and barbed-wire. He held to the end his faith in his

horsemen, not seeing that war was changing, that machines were playing an increasingly important part. It is probable that in his 400 tanks Haig held a master-card that could have beaten the Germans, but he never played this card until his Armies had become bogged down in the mud. Where the tanks were given a chance to show what they could do, there were no reserves left to follow up the initial success gained. From reading his private papers it is obvious that he had no very clear idea of the conditions under which men fought. He was a sincere man, religiously convinced that he could win the war. He placed enormous faith in his staff, believing their phony reports of the victories gained. Along with his Staff, he lived in a narrow optimistic world, almost closed to common-sense or mercy.

In the second (concluding) article, the influence of the generals and the policy of attrition will be considered.

F. R. IVIMEY.

TWO QUOTES

A LABOUR POLITICIAN ON RECRUITING

"Unemployment has helped recruiting, particularly in some areas. I do not know whether hon. Members representing constituencies in Ulster have noticed the figures, but the largest number of recruits has come from around Belfast where the unemployment figure is about 9 per cent., or something of that kind. That figure is not at all irrelevant. We want the recruits, and whether we get them as a result of unemployment or by the provision of high pensions, matters not. We have to build up our conventional forces as best we can." *Mr. E. Shinwell (2nd Day of the Defence Debate in the House of Commons—26th February, 1959).*

*

AN ARCHBISHOP ON WAR

"The use of force of the sword by the State was the ministry of God for the protection of the people. If that were true of the State in its domestic relations it was equally true of the State in its international relations. It all depended upon the motive or intention with which it was used.

"If the force of an army were used for national aggression or self-assertion, it was wrong. If it were used for the defence of the people, it was right."

Dr. Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury (News Chronicle, October 13th, 1936).

DISUNITED NATIONS

The Failure of UNO

THERE is a feeling in writing about the United Nations Organisation that one is digging up the dead and almost forgotten past. It might well be asked in 1959, why it is that UNO does not just pack up and go home? The farce is known for what it is and the legend has long since worn too thin to hang together in any presentable form.

Having served throughout its existence as a sounding-board for the international rivalries of the various capitalist participants and facilitated the mutual mud-slinging contests of the self-styled peace lovers East and West, it is now taken no account of when the major capitalist powers decide to take action in line with their mutually antagonistic interests. There are however a number of valid reasons why as Socialists we are still concerned to write about UNO.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin
Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

To look back at the origin of UNO and to take stock of its record can be very instructive to all those well-meaning people who still persist in trying to get rid of war while leaving intact the conditions out of which it arises.

UNO began as an alleged means of securing a lasting peace. The 14 nations which came together and made the Declaration of St. James's Palace in June 1941, went on record as seeking to "look beyond military victory to the postwar future." They wondered "would we win only to live in dread of yet another war? . . . Is it not possible to shape a better life for all countries and peoples and cut the causes of war at their roots?"

Atlantic Charter

These high and noble sounding sentiments were followed in August of the same year by another series of empty phrases, known as the Atlantic Charter. This charter was the joint brain-child of Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt. Clause 6 of the aims of the charter, reads as follows:

After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny [they] hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

How far removed this is from the normal insecurity which is the lot of the world working-class! The utter failure of post-war Capitalism to realise the ambition contained in this clause, can be seen by the terrible fear which has hung over the heads of all men in all lands since the war ended.

Clause 8 of the Atlantic Charter, which was upheld and subscribed to in the United Nations declaration reads as follows:

They believe that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained, if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed

by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential.

A moment's consideration will show what an empty collection of words this is. The nations which since the war have been involved in most "aggression outside their frontiers," are the big powers, Britain, America, France and Russia, who were the chief supporters of the Atlantic Charter and later of UNO. Exactly who is going to undertake the disarming of these powers is, conveniently, not mentioned.

To suggest to the national ruling classes of the world that they must abandon "the use of force" when their commercial interests are at stake, is

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To the Editor



We invite our readers to send letters of comment and criticism. Please keep your letters as short as possible.

* * * * *

asking them to stand aside while their rivals take the lot. Nothing could be more foreign to the nature of capitalism than this.

Dumbarton Oaks

The next step leading to the formation of UNO was the meeting at Dumbarton Oaks. This meeting declared that putting armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council was "a notable improvement" on the League of Nations which had no forces at its disposal. It also entrusted the Security Council to be "responsible for preventing future war."

This was all during the war, a period of promises and pep-talks. "War to end war." "Make the world safe for democracy" etc. With such words as these ringing in their ears, many millions of workers died.

When the war ended capitalism continued. The same conditions which had already produced two world wars, continued.

How precarious was the whole idea of launching UNO as an instrument of

1914—An Historic Document

THE WAR,
AND THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

Whereas The capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the questions of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the working class of their respective countries in order to induce the said workers to take up arms in what is solely their masters' quarrel, and

Whereas further, the pseudo-Socialists and labour "leaders" of this country, in common with their fellows on the Continent, have again betrayed the working-class position, either through their ignorance of it, their cowardice, or worse, and are assisting the master class in utilising this thieves' quarrel to confuse the minds of the workers and turn their attention from the Class Struggle,

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain seizes the opportunity of reaffirming the Socialist position, which is as follows:

That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced. That in Society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a CLASS WAR, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exist only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers.

These armed forces, therefore, will only be set in motion to further the interests of the class who control them—the master class—and as the workers' interests are not bound up in the struggle for markets wherein their masters may dispose of the wealth they have stolen from them (the workers), but in the struggle to end the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the present European struggle, which is already known as the "BUSINESS" war, for it is their masters' interests which are involved, and not their own.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, pledges itself to keep the issue clear by expounding the CLASS STRUGGLE, and whilst placing on record its abhorrence of this latest manifestation of the callous, sordid and mercenary nature of the international capitalist class, and declaring that no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working-class blood, enters its emphatic protest against the brutal and bloody butchery of our brothers of this and other lands, who are being used as food for cannon abroad while suffering and starvation are the lot of their fellows at home.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS!

August 25th 1914.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

WAGE WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!—Marx.

NOTICES

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

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ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

H. B.

WHO PAYS FOR WARS?

The Finance of War

IN the middle of the first World War the SOCIALIST STANDARD published an article which brought us into sharp disagreement with both wings of the Labour Party, those who were all for war and the minority who wanted to stop it: on this one issue they were in complete agreement and held that we were wrong. The issue related, not to the deaths and destruction of war, but to the finance of war. The article was called "Who Pays for the War?" (SOCIALIST STANDARD, Nov. 1916) and the answer given to the question was in line with what the Socialist Party had been saying about Capitalism before the war broke out. The Socialist argument was (and is) that the workers live by selling their mental and physical energies to the employing class. They then go to work and produce wealth for the employers of value far larger than that represented by their wages. It is out of this "surplus value" that the employing class came to be the owners of all but a small part of the accumulated wealth of the country. Broadly speaking, the employing class, in peace and in war, have squeezed out of their workers in factories, fields, mines and offices, all that can be squeezed out of them in the existing circumstances. This is a very fortunate situation for the propertied class, but it has its corresponding disadvantage in that the civil and military costs of running the State, its administration, its police, its armaments and its wars, are in the last resort a burden on their profits and property. In short, it is the propertied class who pay for wars.

The article published in 1916 pointed this out, and pointed out, too, what would be the likely position of the workers of the victorious and defeated nations after the war. It foresaw that in the event of the defeat of Germany the victors would levy war damages on the property owners of Germany, but that this would not alter the position of wage-earners there. The anticipation was in fact confirmed many years later, when it was shown that in 1929 the purchasing power of the wages of German workers had kept in line with that of British workers despite the yearly payment to the British Government of many millions of pounds of "Reparations" by the German government. (SOCIALIST STANDARD, August, 1929). Indeed, at one period it was a common complaint that while German workers were busily employed producing the "Reparations" goods for delivery to Britain, thousands of British workers were unemployed in the trades that would otherwise have been producing those goods here.

The Keynes' Scheme in the Second World War

But if it is broadly true that the employing class at all times get all they can out of the workers, they are always

willing to try to get something more if they can. And a big war has a double disadvantage for them. On the one hand they are paying for the war, and on the other hand, under the influence of "full employment," the workers are likely to press for higher wages. For the employing class this is a very difficult problem. They need maximum production of armaments to win the war and consequently need minimum consumption of civilian products by the workers; but this is at a time when, because of labour shortage, the workers are in a favourable position to press for a higher standard of living. The late Lord Keynes in his *How to Pay for the War* (Macmillan & Co., 1940), came forward to help. His solution of the problem of how to get the workers in war-time to produce more and consume less was to introduce compulsory saving and refund it after the war.

He was a realist and he recognised that workers with less than 75s. a week could not go lower: indeed, he proposed that their standard of living should be raised. (It is one of the ironies of war that quite a sizeable part of the population are better fed and clothed in war-time.) Those with between 75s. and 100s. a week were to continue on their existing standard, but the group with over

AN EPITAPH?



"... and I hope that if you are ever called upon, you too will be ready to defend our way of life."

£5 a week were to be compelled to save, in the aggregate, about a third of their income. Refundment, after the war, was to be achieved through a capital levy. Keynes put forward his suggestions as a way to avoid inflation and as a way to transfer wealth from the propertied class to the workers. Looking back to the first world war which left the National Debt owned by the capitalist class, Keynes thought that his scheme would have the result that at the end of the second world war ownership of the National Debt "will be widely distributed among all those who are foregoing immediate consumption, instead of being mainly concentrated . . . in the hands of the capitalist class." (Pages 10 and 11.)

In view of what happened, and particularly in view of the fraudulent "Post-War Credits" scheme, it may be thought that Keynes, in his book, was guilty of promoting the fraud. The truth seems to be that Keynes was guilty of no more than muddle-headedness, over-optimism, and a certain array of political innocence. Under the influence of war-time emotion he had convinced himself that things really were going to be differently ordered when the war was over.

Post War Credits

Borrowing part of the Keynes idea the Government put over the Post-War Credit plan. It allowed the workers to have the higher wages they asked for (and came on strike for, often against the law), but took back some of the wages for repayment after the war. Keynes wrote in 1940 about the workers "deferring" consumption of goods till a later date: the government combined it with a steady inflation and rise of prices so that when the workers got their Post-War Credits, the money (held all these years without interest) would buy only a half or a third of what it would have bought at the time it was stopped from wages. The same applied to all the other savings the workers were induced to invest in war bonds and other government stocks.

But the government got what it wanted. The workers worked longer and harder, by day and by night, and were joined in the factories and services by their wives, grandparents (and even by the schoolchildren, who helped with the harvest). Yet the destruction of war was so great that the increased output of the workers fell far short of making good the losses suffered by the propertied class, an estimate of which put the figure at £7,000 million in pre-war values. The national debt, which in 1939 was about £7,000 million, was three times as large by the end of the war.

In a period of continued inflation and rising prices all items expressed in terms of money appear to be getting larger and larger—an appearance which is quite illusory as the worker knows when he discovers that his higher wages have to buy goods with higher prices. Nevertheless, if wages and profits are both related to the upward movement of prices it will be seen that the destruction during the war left its mark on the profits of the propertied class. Whereas wage rates on average have just about kept pace with the rise of the cost of living since 1939,

and the total wages of the working class have risen appreciably more (one reason being the larger numbers employed) the total amount of profit, rent and interest of the propertied class in the years after the war had failed to increase in line with the rise of prices.

One other interesting confirmation of the Socialist argument is the way wages have moved before and since the great re-armament which started in 1951. In the years 1947-1951 armament expenditure was about £750 million a year, but wage-rates (due partly to the success of Government "wage freeze" propaganda) were falling behind the rise of prices. Since 1951 armament expenditure has doubled, yet the workers' wages, aided by a greater determination to press their claims, have been rising rather faster than the rise of prices, thus recovering ground lost in the earlier period.

The moral of this is that war in the modern world not only has its cause in capitalism, but it is waged financially in the only possible way, one designed to fit the economic laws of capitalism. The workers, in war and peace, do better to trust to their own determined struggle against the employers than to trust in the promises of governments, economists and politicians, about the rewards they will get later on.

H.

continued from page 141

Marxism—a Class Ethic

It is amazing that Marx's critics should have so misunderstood his conception of men. That the line of historical development leads to man's conscious control of all social agencies was central to his humanistic assumptions. For him the abolition of classes would see the emergence of the classless individual freely associating with others of his kind. What he demanded above all else was the abolition of a state of affairs whose productive agencies crippled, even annihilated the essential human elements of personality. An alleged Social Revolution which subjugated and physically destroyed members of another class as well as workers would have filled him with abhorrence.

A man is known by what he fights for. Marx all his life fought for the removal of oppression and inequality. His goal was Socialised Humanity. His concern for the individual was evidenced even as early as his doctor's dissertation, and later his attacks on censorship and the filching of peasants' wood rights. To suggest as Mr. Taylor does that his political doctrines and the ethical values associated with them have given in any way theoretical support for Soviet Society and unfree Soviet man, is either gross misrepresentation or misunderstanding.

In any case both are indefensible.

In the next issue we shall conclude the series on Marxist Ethics by discussing the concept—NECESSITY AND FREEDOM.

E. W.

THE ETHICS OF MARXISM (4)

Is Marxism a Class Ethic?

MARX never denied that an order was to be found in history. He did deny that the order was a non-human or teleological one. He did not deny determinism in history. He denied pre-determinism or fatalism. The ends in history he thought are not realised merely because they are willed by men, but he insisted that the process of social development has no ends to realise which are not willed by men. He states:—

History does nothing—it possesses no colossal riches; it fights no fight; it is rather man—real living man who acts, possesses and fights in everything. It is by no means "History" which uses men as a means to carry out its ends as if it were a person apart; rather History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends.

Marx sought an explanation for men's historical activity. His own historical insight discovered it was not in what men think about themselves—not in the Slogans and battle cries of "contending interests"—not in their abstract ideas or in the ideals they proclaim, but in concrete human needs and the social situation out of which these needs arise. It is these needs—albeit they have taken on the character of class needs since the passing of primitive society—which constitute the dynamic of historic activity. It is these needs which set men their problems and which give them the impulse and will to overcome them.

Class Needs and Ethics

Along with the development of the material forces of Society, goes the development of human needs, quantitatively and qualitatively. It is these human needs which lie at the base of the objective possibilities of social development and which men through concerted social action seek to realise. In a class society such action is class action. Social needs are not subjective or personal. They are objective and as integral a part of the social situation as the social relations of production themselves. From these social needs—in class society they take the form of class needs—arise the theories and ideals which constitute theoretical responses to concrete social demands. Marx never denied the influence of men's beliefs on their social activity. What he made explicit was the historical impact which made "ruling" ideas projections of class interests and under what conditions these ideas grew, flourished and declined. For Marx no study of social behaviour had any serious claims to objectivity which failed to take into account the refracting nature of class interests.

It should be clear then that one cannot understand the ethical values of an epoch without reference to concrete social needs. Marx opposed the classless morality of Kant with its categorical imperatives and "private guilts" for that reason: just as he opposed the morality of Feur-

bach and Hess, who having got rid of the divine attributes of God, then transferred these attributes to men and instead of worshipping an abstract deity, worshipped an abstract humanity. While ethics and human needs are inseparable in class society, they take on the character of class needs. A genuine ethic is never then a question of negative moral injunctions but basically a series of positive demands and in a class society they are class demands. From this standpoint, Marxism is frankly a class ethic. Moreover, in the light of its own assumptions about extant society it is a revolutionary ethic. It rejects a timeless, placeless morality with no specific application to concrete circumstances because it hides from men the real nature of the conditions which give rise to their social problems.

Humanism and Class Needs

Marx's criticism of the current humanism, too, is the refusal to relate humanistic assumptions with the objective tendencies of social development and hence the failure to see that existing social relations of production determine the social existence and the conditions of life for the vast majority and that the inhuman consequences of present day society are bound up with a form of social organisation—Capitalism.

Marx never grounded his theories in the belief of a pre-established harmony of human nature based on alleged pre-established natural or divine laws. He saw men as they actually were in the work-a-day world—a world which itself had been the outcome of an actual historic process. The fact that since the advent of private property, history had been class history and individuals class individuals was not something to be deplored, but something to be understood. Only in that way was it possible for the real nature of the social problems to be grasped and surmounted.

* * * * *

... on Socialism

"During the four years of the imperialist slaughter of peoples streams and rivers of blood have flown. Now we must cherish every drop of this precious juice as in a crystal glass. The most sweeping revolutionary action and the most profound humanity—that is the true spirit of socialism. A whole world is to be changed. But every tear that is shed, when it could have been staunched, accuses us."

ROSA LUXEMBURG, 1918

* * * * *

One cannot even begin to talk of the essential unity of men from a so-called classless ethic, in a class world which cuts them in half and where the ties between men take the alienated form of exchange relations. It is no answer to say as some humanists do that Socialism would be of ultimate benefit to the exploiting capitalists as well as the exploited worker. Such humanists see the working class in the vague category of the underdog. But the needs of the working class are not merely the alleviation of distress or poverty by the outcome of its economic function as a class, unshared by the privileged group. It is the capitalist division of labour which mutilates the worker, not the capitalist, and leaves at least the latter as an unproductive whole and not as in the case of the former a fragmented productive appendage. It is Capitalist Society which has stripped its producers of their productive and most basic human capacities. "Denied the growth of the powers that slumber within them" and impoverished their individuality. The most urgent class need of the wealth producers is not a social and moral revaluation within the framework of existing society or a mere quantitative addition to current class-conditioned existence. What their working class human nature must demand if it is to attain to a truly human level is the abolition of the inhuman consequences of the present state of affairs and the integration of the human personality into a collective social whole.

Marx refused to disassociate ethics and ideals from economic development and the function of social classes. A long historical development had transferred all productive processes to the numerically largest section of the capitalist community; yet this section as a class is unfree so long as a private property system with its appropriate division of labour separates the product of their labour from them and places it in other hands as a means of class domination, and as a corollary to this confines their human powers within the narrow and nihilistic orbit of capitalist production. But as the sole productive class, they alone have the active and hence dynamic function capable of transforming the existing social situation. Nevertheless, they can only emerge from class unfreedom to classless liberty by becoming conscious of the path they must follow.

It should be clear then that for Marx the "what ought to be" must be functionally related to the "what is"; that is why any genuine ethic must be a demand for something capable of realisation. By this criterion the Marxist Ethic is richer in human content than any other set of contemporary values.

Class Ideals and Social Reality

Marx refused to accept some absolute scale of values which claimed an above the struggle neutrality. In this way, are we to understand his refusal to talk in the name of "Humanity," "Justice," "Freedom." For Marx, the abstract character of these categories could be shown by asking, Whose humanity? Justice for Whom? and Freedom for What? and in a class society, the answers will always reveal a class standpoint. In a changing world,

men's needs cannot remain static; nor for that reason can their ethical values. As the social environment develops, so do men's needs, and with them their concrete ethical demands.

Marx has been ignorantly accused of denying that ideals are a valid part of social reality. On the contrary, he held that morality was as old as man himself. There have been no human societies without ideals and moral values of some kind. What Marx went on to investigate was the social source of these ideals. On whose behalf were they fought; what expectations did they seek to justify? His answer was that this could be most fruitfully found in the study of class relations. Ruling ideas—Social Ideals—are, said Marx, only historically effective when they express material (class) interests. This explains why some ideas triumph and others fail. It explains why ruling ideas are modified. Why sometimes these "material interests" demand more liberty, more democracy, more equality and sometimes a restriction of these things. Ideas play an important role in history, their significance can, however, only be evaluated by seeing the integral connection of ideas with human needs and interests. But Marx went further by investigating what specific class interests are crucial. What is the theoretical and ideal formulation of these class demands? How do they establish themselves as ideologies? In this way did Marx formulate one of the prime canons of Historical Materialism.

Need for Class Assertion

Marx did not glorify selfishness or unselfishness. He never treated them as abstract qualities, but as concrete expressions of social behaviour in a given social context. To the accepted morality, working class demands, strikes, etc., often appear as selfish forms of class assertion, but it is only through class assertion that some decent existence can be won for its members. Without class assertion, the workers would forfeit their own human claims; to give up their struggle for maintaining or improving their living standards would lead to social and material deterioration as well as moral abasement. That is why Marx was consistently bitter against those who sought to nullify working class action by pleas and brotherly love, and praying for the "Soul" of the "Enemy." In present society, self-assertion not self-denial must be the watershed of working class morality.

Mr. Taylor (*Is Marxism a Humanism?*) sees the Social Revolution as an explosive force. That may well be so in that it blows up the base and superstructure of the old society. It will not be, as he seems to imagine, a blind explosive force whose parts will be picked up and pieced together by an elite of "Social Engineers" into a new social design. Whatever explosive impact the Social Revolution produces, it will first take place in the consciousness of men and will include their skills, techniques and Social experiences. A new Society can only be built by "new men." The Social Revolution will mark their emergence.

continued page 139

* See June, July and August SOCIALIST STANDARD.



Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.

*All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4*



from the Branches

DENISON HOUSE AND HACKNEY MEETINGS

THE three meetings advertised in August and again in this issue, are being arranged by the Propaganda Committee and Central Organiser. Members and sympathisers are urged to note the dates and time of the meetings and make every effort to give each meeting the fullest support. Denison House, Victoria—Sundays September 6th and 27th at 7 p.m. and Hackney Town Hall, Monday September 21st at 7.30 p.m.

DELEGATE MEETING

ONE Saturday and Sunday October 3rd and 4th, the Autumn Delegate meeting will be held at Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Commencing on Saturday at 2 p.m. and on Sunday at 11 a.m. Comrades are asked to make a note of the dates and times as being early in the month, the October announcement will not give adequate time for Comrades to make arrangements. Provincial Branch Secretaries should contact Head Office regarding their delegates requirements for accommodation.

NOTTINGHAM

NEWS from Nottingham is most encouraging. Socialist activity in that City is at a very high level. For some months now, daily meetings have been held in the Market Square and the week-end meetings, particularly those on Sunday evenings, are tremendously successful. Market Square is an ideal place for meetings, being in the busy City Centre and at the same time, shut off from to-day's big speaking problem—the traffic: it is walled off and paved throughout as a place where people sit and talk. The audiences are most attentive, questions and discussions lively, and sales of literature (including pamphlets) are a positive indication of the generally good reception of our case.

There are usually groups of people discussing aspects of Socialism with Party members, long after the meetings.

On one such occasion, when the meeting (which had dealt with how profits arise) had finished at 10 p.m., two comrades continued in discussion with some members of the audience until 1 a.m.!

Outdoor propaganda, excellent though it is, is only one aspect of activity in Nottingham. The Branch Organiser is anxiously trying to arrange more debates with opponents. A number of these have already been held, in particular the one with the Catholic Church, which was recently reported in these columns. As is to be expected, some opponents are a little backward in coming forward.

The Branch is also running its own classes with the aid of a London member who has been staying in Nottingham for some months. The classes are well attended and keenly supported and will doubtlessly do much to encourage further investigation of Socialist theory.

The above is a brief report on Nottingham from a London speaker who had the good fortune to spend a week there in July, and who looks forward to seeing those many comrades and friends again in the not too distant future.

BLOOMSBURY

THE Branch Organiser has arranged a series of discussions to be held on the third Thursday in each month. The first, on September 3rd at 8.30 p.m. after branch business. Conway Hall, the meeting place, is easily accessible and visitors are ensured of an interesting evening.

P. H.

Publication Date

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

MEETINGS

"TWENTY YEARS AFTER"

Public Meetings on War

Denison House, Victoria, S.W.1

Sundays September 6th & 27th at 7 p.m.

Assembly Hall, Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, E.8.

Monday September 21st at 7.30 p.m.

(for details see page 133)

BLOOMSBURY BRANCH

Discussions, Conway Hall (North Room),

Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

First Thursday in each month, 8.30 p.m.

September 3rd. "Hospitals - Why?" C. Kilner

October 1st. "Who pays for the Arts?" E. Kersley

November 5th. "Are the Workers Worse Off?" G. Arthur

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	Sept. 6th, 27th	11 a.m.
	Sept. 13th	1 p.m.
	Sept. 20th	12 noon
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill	12.30—2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road	8 p.m.
Fridays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.
	Roper Street, Elham	3 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings. Sunday mornings and evenings.

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BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Sept. 3 and 17) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. No meetings in August.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. Fridays 8 p.m., Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (Sept. 11) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Sept. 9 and 23) 8 p.m., Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Sept. 7 and 21) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (Sept. 9 and 23) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1 (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Sept. 8), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Sept. 29), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Sept. 11 and 25) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHELTHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (Sept. 15), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries: M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL & REIGATE. Enquiries: C. E. Smith, 88 Chart Lane, Reigate.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Penceiliogi, Llanelly, Glam.

THE PASSING SHOW

The Devlin Report

THE DEVLIN REPORT was in line with the opinions of those who see the future of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland lying in the creation of a multi-racial, capitalist society. This strand of thought sees the Africans as being the wage-workers of this society, and wants them treated as wage-workers are treated here, with (ultimately) votes and "free speech" and the rest of the paraphernalia of capitalist democracy. This, in effect, would delude the Africans into believing that they are the real rulers of the country, just as the capitalist class tries to delude the workers in Britain. The result of this would be to turn the Africans (so this school believes) into respectable wage-workers, labouring as steadily for the profit of their employers as the wage-workers do in this country.

DARWIN CENTENARY

The "Origin of Species" was published in November 1859

November's Socialist Standard will be a special issue on

DARWINISM & SOCIALISM

It seems likely that this trend of thought will prevail in the counsels of the ruling class, although for the present the British Government, and British officialdom in Nyasaland, seem to have been won over to the "settler" views of the white Rhodesian landowners, who regard the Africans merely as labourers on the land who must be kept in submission at all costs. But whatever the ruling class thinks and does, the view of the Socialist Party is clear. The only way to bring about a sound society, and to secure the free development of the human personality, in Nyasaland as elsewhere, is to establish Socialism.

BEATING AND KILLING

THE DEVLIN COMMISSION allowed the Government one or two crumbs of comfort. It found that at the famous meeting

of Congress leaders on January 25th "there was talk of beating and killing Europeans," and that when the trouble started "the Government of Nyasaland had to act or abdicate" *The Observer* (26-7-59). As to that, those of us who have frequently come into contact with white settlers from Kenya and Southern Africa can only say this: that if every settler who talked of beating and killing Africans were put in jail without trial, then the Africans would have to govern themselves, for there would be too few whites left to do it.

Religious Wars

A RECENT television broadcast of Bertolt Brecht's play "Mother Courage and Her Children" elicited this information in the *Radio Times* (30-6-59):

The Thirty Years' War 1618-1648 was a religious war waged by the King of Sweden and the Protestant Princes of Northern Germany against the Catholics under the Emperor of Austria, aided by Poland and France. It ravaged the whole of Europe and killed half its population on the battlefields or by plague and famine. It brought no advantage to either side.

Socialists, in the light of the materialist conception of history, realise that the Thirty Years' War was not a religious war, and that men do not murder each other merely because they are of different religions—or we should have civil war in this country between the Anglicans and Catholics, who now dwell peaceably together. The Thirty Years' War was fought, like other wars, because the ruling classes of the countries taking part believed that they would get something out of it—either an increase of their wealth, or at least the safeguarding of the wealth they already had. But the Christians hold up their hands in horror when they hear the theory that the Thirty Years' War (and others like it) was not a religious war. Such beliefs, they cry, are atheistic and

blasphemous, and people who hold them are merely encouraging the spread of materialism.

How the Christians love to claim the slaughter and the devastation for their own!

Sidney Webb

THE spate of speeches about Sidney Webb on his centenary mostly contained some sad, head-shaking references to the praise given by the Webbs to the Stalinist system in their book "Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?" (This was the title of the first edition: the Webbs even went so far as to remove the question mark in subsequent issues.) For example, Lord Attlee's speech, reported in the *Manchester Guardian* (14-7-59):

Webb tended to deal too much with institutions and not enough with people, and that may have accounted, Lord Attlee thought, for the extraordinary aberration towards the end of his life of his admiration for the Soviet Union.

But why are these Labour Party men, these Fabians, so surprised? Sidney Webb spent his life working for Fabianism, the slow conversion of private capitalism into state capitalism. Then he and his wife went to Russia, and found their ideal system, state capitalism, in full operation; so, being honest if misguided people, they wrote a book praising it. What is so surprising in that?

ALWYN EDGAR.

"Fifty Years Ago"

SOCIALISM & REFORMS

The S.P.G.B. fully believes that the whole is greater than the part, wastes no time advocating this or that reform, but spend their energies in educating the workers in the fact that in Socialism alone lies their emancipation.

One reason our membership does not increase as rapidly as that of some other parties is that we dangle no "Red Herrings" before the workers. The lot of those whom a political or economic "Red Herring" can allure is one to be pitied and abolished and not one to make political capital out of.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD,
September, 1909.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

The one vital issue is the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism

Socialism or Capitalism

We have often been asked by sympathisers what action they can take to register their support for Socialism at election time when there is no SPGB candidate standing in their constituency. We suggest that they can register their rejection of the policies of the other political parties and their support for Socialism as follows:

CONSERVATIVE	
LABOUR	-
LIBERAL	-

Socialism

• • • • •

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HAVE no illusions about the sham fight between Tory and Labour or the pretensions of the Liberals, at this Election. All stand for the retention of capitalism.

The one vital issue that should concern the workers of Britain is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. This is not the aim of the Labour Party. State capitalism or nationalisation is not Socialism. The attempts to run capitalism under price controls and profit controls are not Socialism. In the Labour Party election manifesto of 1945 the false claim was made that the "Labour Party is a Socialist Party and proud of it." Even this lip service to Socialism has now been dropped and replaced by meaningless references to the "welfare State" the building of a "just society," and "equality of opportunity."

Capitalism, whether run by a Labour Government, a Tory Government, a Liberal Government or (as in Russia) by a Communist Government cannot solve your problems. Capitalism means endless poverty and insecurity for the working class. In addition, its inescapable international rivalries are the cause of war which no United Nations can prevent. The only way out is to establish Socialism. This requires the conversion of the means of production and distribution from their present function of producing profit to common ownership by the whole of society. Goods and services would then be produced solely to satisfy human needs, and by ridding society of the waste of armaments and of all the financial and other operations inseparable from capitalism human society would for the first time be easily able to provide all the needs and comforts of life.

The achievement of this great purpose waits only on the recognition of its necessity by you, the working-class, and on your understanding of the democratic political action necessary to carry it through.

Do not be deterred by the magnitude of the problem

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

or by the timid argument that world-wide agreement to achieve it is impracticable. The workers of all other countries are harassed by the same capitalist evils that make your lives a burden. They are no less anxious than you to find the way out. They are as able as you are to grasp the great truth that humanity can be saved only by the co-operation of the workers of all countries. Like you they abhor capitalism's wars and long for real peace that only Socialism can provide.

At present the number of Socialists in this and other countries is too small to determine the results of elections. In recent Parliamentary elections the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN has put up one or two candidates and, as we knew would be the result, they received the votes of only the very small number of Socialists in the constituencies chosen. On this occasion we have one candidate in Bethnal Green but in other constituencies, if you have finally turned your back on the parties that put forward different methods of trying to run capitalism you will be able to register your vote for Socialism by writing, "Socialism" across the ballot paper. This will serve to advertise the number of those who have realised that the use of the vote to support any other candidate no matter how he describes himself, is a vote for capitalism.

Study Socialism. Become Socialists. Resolve that you will help to make the Socialist Party strong enough to be the decisive factor at future elections.

Campaign News

ELECTION Headquarters have been obtained at 4 Westgate Street, Hackney, E.8, just off Mare Street and opposite King Edward Road. London Fields Station 2 minutes. Bethnal Green Tube Station 5 minutes. Buses No. 6, 106, 170, 277. Trolley buses 555, 557, 653—all pass the door.

Help from members and sympathisers is urgently required. Literature needs distributing. Canvassing must be done. We are open every day and shall be pleased to see you. Telephone: AMH 5010.

*

DO NOT DELAY!

This Election Campaign is going to cost a lot of money—to be more precise £500 is the minimum sum we shall need. This will cover literature, deposit, Committee rooms, etc.—in fact, the lot. Needless to say, we haven't got it. In fact the Parliamentary Fund stands at £308, just now. We've got to find the balance of £200 from somewhere. We've had the floorboards up at Head Office, but there is no hidden treasure. So we come back to you. We've never been let down in the past, and feel sure you won't disappoint us this time. Please see what you can do. No sum is too large or too small, but we must have it now. Please send all donations to E. Lake, S.P.G.B., 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4, and earmark it "Parliamentary Fund."

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8 The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

BETHNAL GREEN CAMPAIGN

Election Address

To the Working Men and Women of
Bethnal Green.

Fellow Workers,

As candidate for the Socialist Party of Great Britain I am asking you to consider only the case of the organisation that I represent—that is, the case for Socialism.

The viewpoint of my organisation is one that is fundamentally different from those of the other parties taking part in this election. It is different because the Socialist Party of Great Britain is concerned with the interests of the working class, whereas all the other parties represent the interests of the ruling, or employing class.

It may be objected that the Labour Party, too, is concerned with working class interests, but their record conclusively shows otherwise. In their period of office in the six post-war years they introduced "wage-freeze" and "wage restraint" schemes which resulted in workers finding themselves worse off in 1951 than they were in 1945; the Labour Party used troops in strikes; they are the party who introduced the largest peace-time re-armament programme in history; it was they who promised to solve the housing problem and dismally failed.

Not that the Tories have done any better. These two parties, and the Liberals too, exist to preserve the existing social system—the system of capitalism. Even if you do feel in sympathy with the Labour, Liberal or Tory Parties, I do suggest that you do not put this address to one side, but read on; for I know you will find it interesting and worth-while.

PIE CRUST PROMISES

You have been promised peace, but there are still wars.

You have been promised prosperity, and are told that prosperity is here, but it is not prosperity for you.

You have been promised security, but it still eludes you.

You have been promised an end to poverty, but it is still with us.

You have been promised houses, and you are still being promised them.

You have been promised cheaper living costs, but the cost of living is now higher than ever before.

You have been promised anything that seemed a good vote catching stunt.

Now look at the literature that the other parties are distributing and note that the same old things are still being promised, just re-arranged and dressed up in different words. Yet all these problems still confront you.

OUR COMMON CAUSE

We of the Socialist Party of Great Britain are, like you, members of the working class. Whether we earn our living in overalls or in a white collar and pin-stripe trousers; whether we are paid by the hour, day, week, month or contract; whether the price we receive for our ability to work is called a wage or a salary, we are all members of a class that needs to find an employer in order to live. Our problems are identical. We have a common cause.

All industry today, whether private or state-controlled, is run for the purpose of producing profit. When you and I go to work we produce a wealth of commodities that we leave in the hands of our employers. We receive a wage that enables us to continue to go to work and to rear our families of future wage earners, with very little over. The surplus that we produce over and above what our wages will buy is the store of wealth from which landlords, investors and industrialists draw their rent, interest and profit. In the perpetual pressure to increase that surplus we are goaded to work harder and to produce more.

It is this profit-making basis of society that is the root of all our problems. There is no solution to be found by dealing only with the effects.

Glance at some of the tinkering reforms that are offered by our political opponents.

HOUSES, RENTS AND SLUMS

First the ever-present housing problem. There have been innumerable Acts of Parliament aimed at solving the workers'

housing problems since the Earl of Shaftesbury introduced the first Bill, in 1851. Despite the efforts of Liberal, Labour and Conservative parties, the problem has become more acute with the passing years.

You are now told that rent control has failed and rents must go up because of the hundreds of thousands of neglected houses falling into dilapidation and slumdom.

THE FALLACY OF FULL EMPLOYMENT

Why do we fear unemployment? Not usually because we like our jobs but because we cannot live without our wages. The wealthy capitalist has no fear of being out-of-work. For him it is leisure, for us it is hardship.

Although unemployment since the war has not reached pre-war levels in this country and although the Tories boast

3 public meetings

Bethnal Green

Thursday October 1st 8 p.m.
Globe School, junction Globe Road,
Welwyn Street, E.2

CHALLENGE TO LIBERAL & TORY CANDIDATES

E. Hardy, J. Read

Monday, October 5th 8 p.m.
Columbia School, Columbia Road, E.2

CHALLENGE TO LABOUR CANDIDATE

J. Read, H. Young

Wednesday, October 7th 8 p.m.
Co-op Hall, 195 Mare Street, E.8

EVE OF POLL SOCIALISM & YOUR VOTE

R. Coster, J. Read

that employment is now increasing, do not forget that in January of this year there were nearly 700,000 registered unemployed; if the unregistered were added, the total would probably have been a million.

That fact alone shows how hollow is the claim that governments can maintain "full employment"; the next world trade recession would send unemployment up again.

WHO WINS WARS?

Certainly not you and I. Out of the profit that we make for our employers, millions are used to maintain the armed forces, police, law courts, prisons, and all the state machinery necessary to protect interests of the rich. But before that profit can be used for this purpose it must be realised into pounds, shillings and pence—the goods must be sold in a market.

In world markets there are competitors from other countries. The rivalry between different groups of capitalists driving for markets gives rise to friction between states, and when diplomacy fails to ease the friction, war becomes imminent.

Then you and I are subjected to a spate of patriotic propaganda to whip us into a frenzy of hate and we, or our sons, are sent to slaughter our fellow workers in the rival countries.

War is another evil that springs direct from the wage-labour and capital base of present day society and will remain whilst that base is intact. Nuclear weapons and germ warfare are part of this evil, and campaigns directed against them leave the problem of capitalism and war untouched.

REFORMS BEGET REFORMS

Much ill-health, most crime and nearly all malnutrition can be traced to poverty which is a product of capitalist society. Reforms to alleviate poverty may ease the lot of some of the poor, but no reforms can remove the cause of poverty. A reform that eases one outstanding evil frequently gives rise to others. Just as

new houses can help some workers who desperately need homes, they find that rents are so high that the larder must suffer. Only a complete change in the basis of society can produce a lasting improvement in the lot of the working class.

NON-SOCIALIST "SOCIALISTS"

We are not the only ones in this election who call ourselves Socialists.

The Labour Party claims to be a socialist party but it enters this election, as it did every election in the past, inviting your support for scores of reforms and promises designed to make you believe that capitalism can be re-organised to give you what you want from life.

The Communist Party is not one whit different in that respect. It competes with the other parties of capitalism in offering bigger and better reforms.

THE LESSER EVIL

Some people say that they agree with us, but, as there is no immediate prospect of achieving Socialism, it would be better to choose the less of two evils by supporting one of the Capitalist parties. There is only one evil, that is Capitalism. From it your problems flow. No matter which political party you choose to operate it, the results will differ but little. Offering you the choice of capitalist parties is like offering the Christmas goose the choice of being baked or boiled. As far as you and I are concerned our goose will be cooked whichever you choose.

WHAT CAN NATIONALISATION DO FOR US?

Nothing. But the Conservative and Labour parties, and the Communist party, are in favour of some measure of state control of industry; they differ only in degree. State or private industries are all of a kind. Shareholders may become bondholders and trade union officials may have top jobs in nationalised industries, but the terrible twins, wage-labour and capital, are still there.

There is still wealth for the few and a bare living wage for you and me.

Nationalisation was formerly the main plank in the Labour platform but the experience of the past ten years has brought disillusionment among those who expected so much from it.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain never supported nationalisation.

PERMANENT SACRIFICE

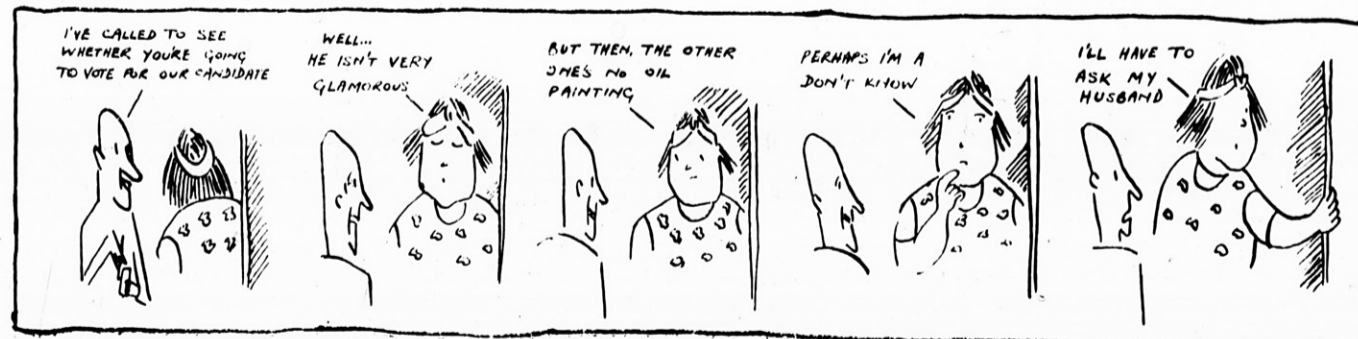
We are called upon to make sacrifices to safeguard democracy, to "defend our living standards," to "defend our way of life," and for many other high sounding and meaningless reasons. You and I have done nothing other than make sacrifices, first to build up armaments, then for a war effort, next for post-war reconstruction and then to help over the bad times between wars. There is always an excuse for demanding sacrifices from the workers. It is time you stood on your feet and made some drastic changes in a world that could satisfy your needs with plenty but provides only plenty of needs.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

You and I have only our energies to sell; we can only live by finding employment from those who own the land, mines, factories, machines, tools and transport system and all the things necessary to produce the necessities and comforts of life. This ownership must be ended, these things must be converted to the common property of everyone and democratically controlled in the interests of all. Wealth will not then be produced for the profit of a few but will become common-wealth, available to all.

WHY IT MUST BE DONE

Science and discovery have made it possible for everyone to have a fuller life but capitalism bars the way. Millions now engaged in unnecessary tasks such as making bombs and bus tickets, or counting other people's money and advertising catch-penny products, as well as the unemployed of both classes, can be brought into the field of useful pro-



duction when the capitalist system is abolished. Hours of work can be shortened, wars ended and economic security achieved.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE

Members of the capitalist class can go to Bermuda or Balmoral, confident that their interests are secure so long as you continue to support the parties that ensure the continuation of the Capitalist ownership of the means of life.

When a Socialist working class in all countries decides to reconstruct society in keeping with its own interests by dispossessing the Capitalist class, it must first gain control of the machinery of government. It is with that object that the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN enters this electoral contest.

NOW IS THE TIME

During this campaign you will see no posters or window tickets urging you to vote for me. We shall indulge in no ballyhoo or electioneering stunts. We appeal to your understanding and intelligence and not to your emotions and prejudices.

If you want Socialism you have got to set about the task of achieving it; no one is going to present it to you on a plate. All we ask is that you consider our case and, if you agree with it, help us to fight for it. We have built our political party in order that you can use it to achieve Socialism. This election is your opportunity, don't waste it.

Comradely yours,

JACK READ.

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291 Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin
Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

Socialist Party of New Zealand

P.O. Box 62 Petone

World Socialist Party of the United States

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

A Straight Talk on the Election

As the general election campaign gets under way, we shall probably see more and more posters of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Gaitskell, gazing in fatherly protective benevolence upon the passing voters. Each party will say that they are more able, more sincere, more knowledgeable than their opponents. The Tories will say they will give us good government—the Labour party that they are the party with working class interests at heart. In fact, the intention and ability of politicians can have little effect on the problems which they try to solve. We shall hear a lot, during the election, about war and insecurity; these are just two of the problems which exist not because any government wishes them to, but because capitalism inevitably produces them.

Capitalism and War

Capitalism is a social system in which all the things which are necessary to make and distribute the world's wealth—such as land, factories, railways and steamships—are owned by a small section of the world's population. This class, because of their ownership of the means of production, can live without having to work for a wage. On the other hand, the working class are compelled to sell their ability to work to an employer, for they have no other method of getting a living. The capitalists invest money in industries and, because they must have a return on their investments, those industries produce wealth with the motive of profitable sale. This means that industries throughout the world are constantly seeking cheap, abundant fields of raw materials, profitable markets for their products, and trading routes to connect them to their overseas markets and sources of supply. When "peaceful" competition cannot win these, a war breaks out. That was the cause of the last two world wars and of the minor outbreaks in Korea, Egypt and so on. A future world war will quite possibly be fought with nuclear weapons. These have been developed because each capitalist power must always strive to arm itself more powerfully—which means

more destructively—than its rivals. This has made war an even more urgent problem, which cannot be solved by a conference between prime ministers and presidents. There is only one way certainly to abolish war. That is to abolish capitalism.

Capitalism and Poverty

The Conservative Party have been telling us that we are all prosperous. Yet the latest figures show over ten million people in this country getting less than £10 a week. (Contrast this with the 700 who share £6 million a year after paying tax!) It is true that workers are buying houses, motor cars, television sets and so on; the fact that we must resort to mortgages and hire purchase to obtain these things is proof of our restricted access to the good things in life. Whatever personal possessions we have, we always find that our wage packet is, generally, roughly sufficient to keep us in food, clothing, housing and entertainment with very little—if anything—to spare. That is why we always have the cheap and trashy—the pre-fabs and council houses, the mass produced clothes and furniture; we just can't afford anything better. Because our livelihood depends on our wage, we are the people who really suffer in a slump, or if we lose our jobs through sickness or old age. The *Manchester Guardian* of 21st April, 1959, reported the case of a 70-year-old lady who lived in an attic and who, after paying her rent and part board, fuel and 2s. 6d. for a wireless relay, was left with 7s. 9d. a week for everything else. That sort of tragedy is never removed by a Budget or a national insurance scheme, because it originates in the economic depression of the mass of society. It can only be removed by ending capitalism.

Until this happens we shall continue to suffer the insecurity which drives many people into mental hospitals and transforms others from co-operative human beings into anti-social criminals. Crime and violence will flourish and with

(continued page 156)

IN FLANDERS FIELD (2)

Bloody Arithmetic



Passchendaele, 6th October, 1917

Imperial War Museum

In times of war, Generals become very important people; sometimes, as in 1917, much too important for the general interests of the ruling-class. Not only did they decide on questions of strategy in their own sectors, they were able to influence or make decisions on the widest scale. Haig, Foch, Cadorna, Joffre, Nivelle, each had taken part in decisions that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands. To some extent the Generals constituted a special sectional interest, running things their way, and able to deceive, ignore, or persuade the politicians. False reports (and Haig's Staff turned these out in hundreds) would serve to blind the politicians to the appalling errors being committed. Once appointed, Generals became notoriously touchy, resenting criticism and blocking any move by politicians to interfere.

The threat of resignation, with the resulting blows at morale of troops and workers, would frequently serve to bring the politicians into line. Generals were removed, but only after their particular front had begun to resemble a slaughterhouse, and sometimes not even then. Kitchener set an example, closely followed by his one-time protégé Haig, of the stiff-lipped, silent autocratic General. Haig was scandalised when Lloyd George discussed west-front strategy with

French officers and politicians behind his back; he noted in his diary that the man was not a gentleman, a supremely irrelevant consideration, bearing in mind the tremendous interests at stake. Apart from the prestige of their professional positions, the British west-front butchers, Haig and Robertson, had considerable support from the British ruling-class.

They were able to override Lloyd George, who thought west-front strategy useless and incapable of producing any decisive result. Lloyd George did have part of his way after the battles of 1917, for by then even the adoring Lord Northcliffe had begun to have his doubts. It was becoming obvious that the German Army was not destroyed, and that no important gain had been made. There were important reasons why Haig was not given the sack: reasons of morale, social influence, and because Haig was a good general in the limited sense of organising defensive measures. Robertson lost his job as Chief of the Imperial General Staff; reserves were withheld from Haig, and a system of closer co-operation with the French came into being.

The problem of maintaining control over the Generals is still exercising the ingenuity of Governments. Churchill was to be in much closer touch with the

Generals than Lloyd George. By 1939, the Generals were tamed; the old-fashioned officer gave way to more technically-minded machine-conscious officers. Closer systems of control prevented any repetition of 1917. Slaughter became a subject of scientific planning. Hitler, Stalin and Churchill were careful to be always on their guard against the Generals. The German Staffs were purged again and again; Stalin relegated Zhukov to obscurity after the war.

The Bloody Arithmetic of Attrition

The first world war introduced a new branch of arithmetic—a branch that even the cavalry generals could appreciate. The equation was a simple one: three million dead British and French soldiers plus two million dead Germans could equal defeat for Germany. Some there were, like Lloyd George, who were astute enough to realise that attrition could be dangerous for Capitalism. Lloyd George, as a popular orator, was more in touch with public opinion than were the supporters of this simple arithmetic. Ceaseless battering had led to the final collapse of Russia, and had led to serious trouble for the French Government.

"Attrition" was popular with a large section of the ruling-class because it offered something more than mere military defeat; it offered the destruction of a large part of Germany's manhood, the exhaustion of her economy, and a Europe free for Britain and France to bustle in.

For popular consumption the argument was modified, the enemy was being defeated even though no significant advance was being made. The enemy's armies were being destroyed (as indeed they were, but not as fast as Haig and his Staff liked to believe, for even at the height of the Flanders battle the Germans could afford to send troops to defeat Italy). Attrition *did* work, but in a way unforeseen by its supporters. In March 1918 Germany began her last offensive, and in thirteen weeks suffered 700,000 casualties. Germany, desperate to finish the war before the full weight of America could be brought to bear, destroyed the army that had held the western front for four years.

The Dead Weight of Tradition

Capitalist organizations do not always function in the best interests of the ruling-class as a whole. Conflicting demands during wartime may paralyse strategy, so that nothing is achieved. An example

is the Dardanelles campaign; there was no agreement on how many troops to send, the haggling went on for months. It seems that Britain and France almost sustained defeat, not by Germany, but by their own traditions and methods of warfare that had become irrelevant by 1914. As a result, Germany, while maintaining the defensive in the west, was able to gain considerable victories elsewhere, as for instance in Russia, Rumania and Italy. There were alternatives to attrition, but the opportunities were lost, and if such a complex situation can be summarised at all, they were lost because of the outmoded thinking of the ruling-class, of whom the Generals were a part.

A new Waterloo was always just round the corner, and if the Waterloo turned into slaughterhouse warfare, there was always the argument for attrition to fall back on. They were full of arguments, those Generals, Haig had another one in his magazine; he had waged the Flanders campaign in order to prevent the Germans from falling on the French. He also waged it because the French had offered their support! And what of the chief participants, the poor bloody soldiers? They were always ready for another effort, another crawl across ground covered by machine-gun fire and under continuous bombardment. The British troops set an example of devotion to duty unequalled in those days; apparently British workers were well-drilled and well impregnated with their ideologies, of which there was a fairly wide choice, all leading to the conclusion that one must fight for one's country, whatever the cost.

The New Passchendaeles

The overthrow of one set of myths doesn't matter very much to Capitalism, for there are plenty of brainy people ready to provide variations of the theme "fight and die." New ideologies are continually being manufactured, and

there will always be one or two to suit the needs of the time. The bitterness aroused by 1917 did not make workers into Socialists, but it did give rise to numerous peace movements (in one of which "Go to it" Herbie Morrison was prominent). These movements withered away when Capitalism was once more torn apart by war. With a new appeal, workers could be called out to fight again. Cassino, Stalingrad and Hiroshima mocked the 1918 politicians' boasts "war to end wars." The second world war also gave rise to its peace movements, but rather different. The New Pacifists would apparently be prepared to fight if H-bombs were excluded and war consisted of battles like Passchendaele, Stalingrad or Cassino.

Breaking the Circle

There is a way out; humanity do not have to tear each other apart; the circle can be broken. What has been said here about ideologies does not mean that there is no end to Capitalism and its wars. A new society can be brought into being. This new society has already

taken rough shape in the minds of some of us. Disgust and disillusionment take a slow but steady toll of Capitalist ideas—an example of this is the decline of "white feather" incidents! People in the last war were far less ready to condemn those who stayed at home.

Unfortunately there has been far more apathy and disillusionment than determination to put things right. People are disgusted with politics, including even the Socialist Party in their condemnation. Perhaps in a way there is here a terrible indictment of Capitalism; men and women have lost their faith in a world fit for humans, taking refuge in the acquisition of cars, brass-plates and the material flotsam of a mass-rubbish-producing society. Change is possible: we can reject Capitalism with its Passchendaeles, Stalingrads and Hiroshimas. People can act in their own interests, instead of in the barren, blood-smeared interests of ruling groups. The way out does not lie along the road of pacifism or ban-the-bomb (a futile movement if ever there was one). The way lies along the path of Socialist understanding.

F. R. IVIMEY.

All My Own Work

ALL this summer in the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy there have been exhibited 60 signed charming paintings by Sir Winston Churchill and like the pavement artist he can truly say "All my own work."

There are landscapes, "bottle scapes," etc., interiors of Blenheim showing tapestries, depicting victories of his ancestor, the 1st Duke of Marlborough.

Looking at these brought to mind Southey's poem "Battle of Blenheim" with its unanswered question "What good came of it at last"? For there are other kinds of items "signed W.S.C." not in any Exhibition. They range back right through two World Wars to the Boer War which was being waged as this century came in. What a ghastly painting it would make: all the millions of dead, blind, insane, widows and orphans doomed in the wars supported by the Marlborough line.

But look a little closer. While W.S.C. could truly sign his paintings "All my own work" his signatures given in wartime are basically your signatures. You, the working class, who in your over-

whelming majority at election times sign your voting slip for Capitalism under its labels Conservative, Liberal, Labour, etc.

Time is now upon you again to give the O.K. to your wage slavery, wars, H-bombs etc., or for you to strike a blow for the freedom and brotherhood of all mankind. You have time before then to become a worker for Socialism. Read and understand the simple facts of your class position; get in top gear as soon as you can. For you, the working class are the power that can rid the world of the vast horrors of capitalist civilisation.

E. K.

Publication Date

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

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of war read

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OCTOBER 1959

The Use of the Vote

Issues that will be decided

BEFORE the next issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD appears the General Election will be over. You, the wage and salary earners who make up the great majority of the electorate, will have had your little hour of prominence in which you decided the fate of individual candidates and their political parties for perhaps another five years.

The Tories will know whether you have favoured them with the unusual prize of three consecutive general election victories. The Labour Party will know whether those of you who wanted a change of government are numerous enough to have put them back after nearly eight years in the opposition wilderness. And the Liberals will have had your answer to their plea for enough Parliamentary seats to be able to exercise a restraining or enlivening influence on the bigger parties. It is you who will have decided these issues in the way you cast your votes.

The power you have

In the weeks of electoral excitement before polling day you will have been made to appreciate, at least a little, that you are, for the moment, important people. Between elections you look up to politicians and big business men as important, but during elections it is they who go to endless trouble to influence you and win your support for them and their policies. It is you who can make or mar the career of a politician and you who can place power in the hands of a government which during its term of office can, by taxation and tariff policies or by subsidies, raise some industries to prosperity and bring others to their ruin. It is you who give power to governments in whose hands rest decisions about peace and war.

Power for no use

Since the Socialist Party of Great Britain was formed there have been fourteen general elections in this country: this is the fifteenth. Fifteen times the Tory, Liberal and

Labour Parties have appealed to you to help them with your votes. Fifteen times you, the workers, have used your votes against your own interests.

Although the parties we have mentioned use different names for their programmes and promises of legislation, there is very little of importance dividing them. They are all concerned with trying to administer British capitalism as well as may be in a troubled world of rival capitalist groups. In any big emergency like the crisis of 1931 or in war they come together and form coalition governments.

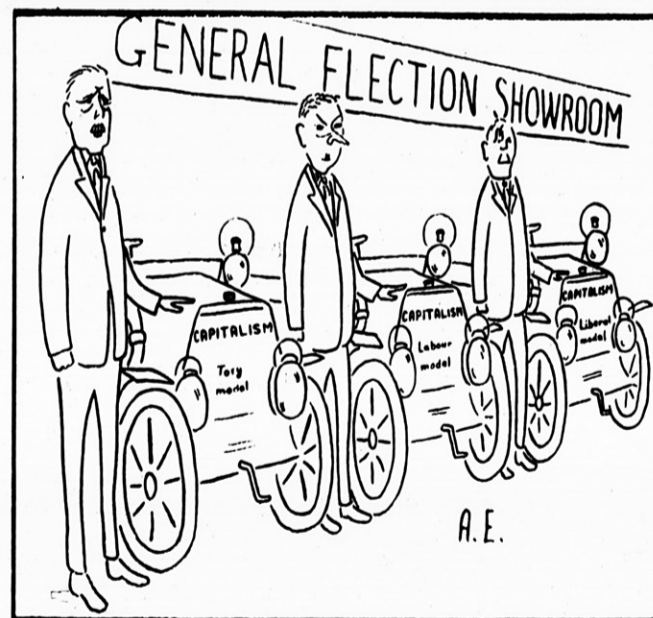
Whichever of them, you, the workers, vote for in an election, it is a defeat for you, a betrayal of your own interests.

The Socialist Alternative

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN was founded with one purpose, that of achieving Socialism. Socialism is not something akin to reformists' efforts to improve capitalism, but an alternative social system, one in which class ownership of the means of production and distribution would be replaced by common ownership, buying and selling, profit-making and the wages system would disappear, and with them the wars that are caused by capitalism's commercial rivalries.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN has carried on propaganda all these years to increase the understanding and acceptance of the Socialist message, and from time to time have contested elections. What we can do in this direction is strictly limited by our meagre financial resources—even the £150 election deposit is a serious item to us. On the present occasion our comrade J. Read stands as Socialist candidate at Bethnal Green.

By that candidature in Bethnal Green and by our propaganda elsewhere the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN seeks to shorten the day when you, the workers, will recognise that your interests, and indeed that of the human race, demands the abolition of capitalism and establishment of Socialism through the intelligent use of the vote by an international Socialist working class.



Henry Ford I "They can have any colour they want, so long as its black."

CORRESPONDENCE

Initiative & Incentive

Dear Sir,

The August edition of the SOCIALIST STANDARD fell into my hands, and, being more than slightly interested in Socialism I read it closely. Naturally the article "To a New Reader" caught my eye. In this article you make certain claims and statements on which I would like to pose some questions.

"It (the owning class) takes no part in social production and is unnecessary to it." From the context it would appear that by owning class, you mean anyone who owns property. If you must pigeon-hole everyone into a "class," I am, I suppose, of this class, as my father, by saving, has bought the house in which we live. But the income of the household (I am a chartered accountant's articled clerk) is far, far less than that of many what is laughingly termed "working class" households which exist in rent subsidised houses. Why then are we evil to the Socialist? As to being socially unproductive, my friends of this drone class include one chemical engineer (B.Sc.), one electrical engineer (B.Sc.), one agriculturist (B.Sc.) and two capitalists, one of whom arrived in this town four years ago with 30s. and a kit-bag of dirty washing. By way of working an eighty-hour week he now has a thriving timber business employing seven men. Very much the same applies to my other capitalist friend except that he has a plastics factory. Yet you also say "Initiative and inventiveness will have a chance to thrive." Has initiative no chance now?

"Production will expand to correspond to the people's needs." Surely production is vastly in excess of the people's needs as it is. I think "wishes" should be substituted for "needs." But then this would be nonsense because production cannot expand to give everyone what he wants.

"Cut-throat competition for jobs will no longer exist." But does it exist now? Surely the best man gets the job? Does Socialism mean that any incompetent can get any job? Besides which the above statement would appear to contradict "Initiative and inventiveness will have chance to thrive, etc."

Finally, on page 121 you are appealing for funds. On page 116, under "Wages by Cheque," you say "Snatching the payroll could, by present ethical standards, be considered more a transfer of property than theft." Your problem solved?

Yours faithfully,

A. L. A.

Horsham, Sussex.

REPLY

The "class who own the means of production" does not include everyone who owns property; buying a house does not change the class of the buyer. The working class consists of men and women who own nothing—or so little—in the means of wealth production that they must sell their abilities to an employer in order to live. This includes people like chartered accountants, engineers and agriculturalists and people who own a house, whose economic interests are the same as other workers. The capitalist class are people who—although many of them *do* work—own enough of the means of wealth production to live without working for a wage or a salary. Because one of these classes buys labour power from the other, their interests are in conflict. Neither the capitalist nor the working class is evil, for they are both inevitable products of the historically necessary capitalist social system.

Of course, initiative and inventiveness have some sort of a chance under capitalism. So has dishonesty. But not everyone can be an employer—the majority must remain in the working class, where a person's initiative and inventiveness only find expression if he can sell his energies to an employer.

Modern society is capable of satisfying human needs, which include lots of things which our correspondent would call "wishes." But capitalist production is regulated to exploit the market, which need have no relation to people's needs. That is why the National Coal Board is reducing output, whilst pensioners are in need of coal. Socialist society will have no market to take into account,

continued page 157



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THE ETHICS OF MARXISM (5)

Necessity and Freedom

THE bourgeois prejudice sees Marxism as a philosophy of iron necessitarianism; hence as the negation of freedom. The bourgeois prejudice prizes freedom and holds it to be among the rarest blooms of civilization. Asked to define freedom it may feel that such technical matters can be taken care of by the pundits and philosophers. From its own empirical standpoint, freedom is not so much something to be abstractly defined but concretely enjoyed.

Freedom and Society

The bourgeois prejudice, while it may talk of the need of social organisation, sees it nevertheless as a restraint upon the freedom of the individual, i.e., the bourgeois individual. Not being a Marxist the bourgeois individual fails to comprehend that the very social organisation which he regards as a restriction of free activity is the sole source of the freedom he possesses.

"Man is not born free" even though Rousseau has told him so. Freedom is something which men acquire and they only acquire it in and through their human organisation—society. Such freedom may not be absolute freedom—whatever philosophers mean by that—but within the context of human organisation it has inexhaustible possibilities for further development. For man there is no other freedom but through society—but it is enough.

If freedom means—and this is the only valid meaning one can give to freedom—the ability to bring about the ends man desires, what as distinct from the animal world enables them to effect this? The answer lies in their economic production. An economic production, quantitatively and qualitatively different from any animal economy. It is not the case that man is merely a productive animal among other productive animals, but that his production is social production, i.e., his labour has always involved cooperation with others of his kind.

Human labour is the fundamental condition for human existence. As Marx has it, it is:—

A process going on between man and nature, a process in which man through his own activities, initiates, regulates and controls the material reaction between himself and nature. He confronts nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate nature's production in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops the powers that slumber within him, and subjects them to his own control.

It is not merely that man's labour is collective labour, but a special co-ordinated labour carried out in cooperation with others of his kind. It is an activity both pre-

meditated and planned. Thus man is able to produce his own conditions of life, and so produce his own history. Man, then, is different from other animals because he produces differently.

It was through this collective and coordinated labour process that speech—the practical form of human consciousness—developed as a means of communication in answer to the growing complexities of economic production. It was through this process of social labour that there came into being the rules of social organisation—ethics. Just as it was the need of greater manipulation of the material environment, in order to achieve greater advances in social organisation and production that science became an essential department of human activity. It is then through his economic production that man has been able to extend his inherited social knowledge, widen his social horizon, and produce the facilities for so doing. Herein lies man's freedom. The price of freedom has not been "unceasing vigilance," but unceasing economic production.

It is through his economic production that man has come to understand the nature of causality, i.e., in order to bring about certain consequences, he must know the conditions necessary for their successful fulfilment. Hence it is only by his greater understanding of the interconnection of processes and the laws which regulate them that he is able to more freely bring about the ends he desires. Causality is the consciousness of necessity, and the greater his grasp of the nature of necessity the greater is man's freedom to act in a planned and purposeful way. Had man been a creature passively reacting to his external environment he could never have grasped the nature of causality—necessity—nor freedom. Freedom is not as the bourgeois prejudice sees it, the progressive realisation of an abstract idea but the progressive development of the means of life and socialisation of production.

The Bourgeois Prejudice and Freedom

But how does the bourgeois prejudice understand freedom? Through a knowledge of necessity? The answer is no. While the bourgeois prejudice may admit that the operation of the forces of production is subject to law and

ERROR CREPT IN.

We regret that in the September issue a printing error made nonsense of a sentence in the article, "Is Marxism a Class Ethic." The sentence (Page 141, Col. 1, Line 8) read as follows:—"But the needs of the working class are not merely the alleviation of distress or poverty by the outcome of its economic function as a class, unshared by the privileged group." The word "by" should, of course, be "but."

organisation, it confines it to the mere technological level. The bourgeois prejudice fails to see that the bourgeois economy is subject to laws and a determinative organisation. And that right across its version of freedom, necessity is writ large. Its philosophers and pundits may discuss the nature of freedom till the cows come home, but they never seriously attempt to locate the source from which bourgeois freedom, in fact all freedom stems—society. They may talk about the need of human values, but never see that bourgeois freedom is a class-conditioned freedom which falls far short of a truly human freedom. This is because its own social organization is rooted in the class ownership of the productive forces and it is this which determines the level of existence both quantitatively and qualitatively for the vast mass of non-owners.

The crux of bourgeois freedom is its power to exploit and secure the unpaid labour of others by its ownership of the agencies of production. From this freedom all other freedoms flow.

Bourgeois freedom exists in a system subject to laws and compulsions. Its own class conditioned character makes it necessary to produce not for the purpose of satisfying human needs but for securing the production and reproduction of surplus value on an ever-expanding scale. This is the basic law of present production, the overriding necessity which must be obeyed if bourgeois freedom and privilege is to continue. Thus the class character of freedom means the freedom of the few and the unfreedom of the many.

The Limits of Bourgeois Freedom

But is the bourgeois himself really free? The answer is that he cannot be, because he himself lives in an unfree world. He cannot escape the consequences of the social set up which gives him his freedom. What is more, as the present order moves on, his own freedom becomes more restricted. More and more he is controlled by the world market, more and more does the need of ever-greater capital accumulation become more urgent. And across his world ever lies, the shadow of future slumps, future war, and universal slaughter. Thus in a world of class antagonism, national and racial hatreds, "freedom" is forced to seek strange bed fellows. No doubt the bourgeois individual would like freedom from these things. But because he is unaware of the nature of the necessity from which his freedom stems he does not know where such freedom may be found. He thus, remains imprisoned in his narrow cell of class liberty.

The very necessity of the social system which produces the class freedom for the few produces at the same time the class unfreedom of the many. But the iron compulsions of capitalism which give freedom of a sort to the bourgeois deny access to a fuller life for the proletariat. Men, because they are men and not automatons, will chafe against the restrictions which prevent a fuller and freer life. And it is in their struggle and desire for a free and fuller life that the vast majority discover, bourgeois freedom and a truly human freedom to be irreconcilable. But this will mean the abolition of private property institu-

tions and free access by all to the productive sources. A social state of affairs in which man is no longer a mere unit carrying out the orders of others, but where each one has an equal role in furthering the common aim which he himself takes part in forming. But it is not enough for the many to desire freedom. They will have to grasp the nature of necessity wherein their unfreedom lies. Not to know this means that their desire for freedom will remain unfulfilled.

Marxism a Denial of Fatalism

Contrary to the bourgeois notion of freedom which sees it as personal liberty inhibited by social strictures, the Marxist sees freedom as a choice based upon an objective appraisal of the data of a given situation. Only when events and processes are not known are we subject to iron determinism. Where knowledge of these matters is available then and only then are we free to follow a course of action dependent on the relevant information. To successfully carry out what one can do one must also know what one cannot do. It is when we know what is necessary that our purpose becomes effective and that is freedom. Not to know what is necessary in a given situation is unfreedom. When we think correctly we act correctly and only to that extent is man free. Thus in a scientific experiment or a surgical operation one cannot choose willy-nilly what to do. There are things that must be done and must not be done. In fact, if both are to be successful they must be governed by the objective facts of the situation. It is only by strictly conforming to what is necessary to be done can the aim and purpose in either case become effective. The more ignorant one is of the nature of causality, i.e., the necessity, the more important and determined one is. Effective action means then that we must have knowledge of the laws which operate in a given plane of reference. This does not mean we are independent of the determining circumstances out of which ideas and action arise, but it does mean that unless we understand the objective pattern of what is determined our thought and action will be non-effective.

The bourgeois prejudice does at times liken freedom to the jungle. Everybody does what is best for himself, although the bourgeois economy has government, bureaucracy and the armed forces to see that the jungle does not get out of hand. But the inhabitants of the jungle are not free. They know nothing of causality—necessity—and hence nothing of freedom. They cannot mutually

*Why not have the
Socialist Standard
regularly?*

cooperate and reap the advantages of a division of labour. They can only instinctively conform to the law of the jungle if they are to survive.

Only men can be free. And only the class which is now unfree can establish a freedom which is truly human—even though bourgeois individuals may come to associate themselves with the aims of the working class. But this unfree class must free itself from the ideology of bourgeois freedom and see the necessity of establishing a classless society and with it a classless freedom.

Man the measure of all things

Marxism does not believe in absolute free will or absolute determinism. Free will versus determinism is a bourgeois metaphysic it can dispense with. Neither does it hold to some simple, cause-effect relation. It sees nature—men's needs—society, as a process of causal interaction. Along with Marx and Engels they hold the view that man is the responsible agent in all social change. It is man that wills even though he is born into a situation which is unwilling by him. But he must be informed of the objective milieu in which he finds himself. Only then can he act effectively on events and by changing them, change himself.

Men are not mere creatures of determinism, economic or otherwise. Because the only permanent thing about morality is man's demand for the better which itself is redetermined according to time and place. Man—and here

we refer to unfree "class man" in the given social context—will always make fresh demands on the world and upon himself and thus produce the conditions necessary for his human needs. Men and ideas as we have said are the sole instrument for initiating social change. For any change to be effective, however, relevant knowledge of events is indispensable. The "must" and the "ought"—necessity and freedom—do not exist in a polarised antagonism, but are indissoluble aspects of social reality. The charge against Marxism, posed by its critics, of fatalism and termed by them the "inevitability dilemma" thus falls to the ground.

Both in belief and action Marxism is a humanism. And it is the Marxist who seeks a world where truly human values prevail. Marxism sees man as a product of a social complex and at the same time as the producer of a more conscious society. This is the heart and essence of the Marxist ethic. In religious fantasy God made man the centre of the universe. In material fact capitalism has alienated him from it. Marxism shows how in a truly human sense man can yet become that.

We would remind Mr. Taylor, the author of the pamphlet *Is Marxism a Humanism?* that Marxism is not merely a method of expounding humanism, but a way of achieving it. As such it challenges more than favourable comparison with any other set of contemporary values.

E. W.

OUR MAN IN AMERICA

Air Mail report to hand as we go to press—Comrade Gilmac, the Party's representative to the W.S.P. Annual Conference, is that he is now (September 15th) in Vancouver after a very busy fortnight of travel and meetings. A successful television half hour interview in Hollywood was one of the high-lights of the trip. All questions on the Party case were excellent, and it is reported that Gilmac's answers "were all meat." If time had permitted, more television interviews would have been available. There seems no doubt that this extensive tour is a successful one, and a detailed report should be in the November *Standard*.

"A TALK ON THE ELECTION"

—continued from page 149

them the escapist drugs and tranquilisers. This inhuman system is supported by the Labour, Conservative, Liberal, Communist and other parties. What has the Socialist Party of Great Britain to offer?

Socialism

We invite you to consider the case for Socialism. This is a social organisation based on the ownership of the world's wealth by the world's population. When it is established, everyone—man or woman, whatever the colour of their skin—will have completely free access to

society's common pool of wealth. There will be no privileged class enjoying the best things in life whilst the majority of people make do with the shoddy. There will be no wars to settle the competition between opposing capitalist groups. There will be no division of interest, such as exists today between employer and employee, to cause strikes and other social dislocation. Everybody's interests will be the same—to co-operate in producing the best and happiest world which humanity is capable of, for the enjoyment and benefit of the whole of mankind.

This is no empty dream. Socialism can be established tomorrow, if the people of the world understand it and want it. Then they can send their delegates to the seats of power—such as Parliament—to carry through the formal process of establishing Socialism. That is why we are a political party. Our membership and funds are small, which prevents us nominating more than one candidate at this election. He is not a great leader who promises to work miracles. He is not a leader at all for we do not believe in leaders. He is an ordinary member of the working class and of our Party who holds with us that only Socialism can solve the world's

problems. That never has been popular—the millions have so far always preferred their Macmillans and Gaitskells, the reformist programmes of their parties, and the troublous world that they stand for.

IVAN.

SHORTER HOURS IN 1909

In his address to the Economic Science and Statistics section of the British Association Professor Chapman said:

"These changes" (i.e., in the character of the world's work) "all tended to specialisation, to concentration, both in working and leisure, and to constant demands for the curtailment of the working hours of the day."

"In the course of long investigations he had found no instance in which an abbreviation of hours had resulted in a proportionate curtailment of output. There was, indeed, every reason to suppose that the production in the shorter hours seldom fell short of the production in the longer hours, and in some cases the product or its value had actually been augmented after a short interval. He (Professor Chapman) sought also to show that the value of leisure would inevitably rise with progress and that the working day would become less in the future."

From *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, October 1909 quoted from *Daily News*, 27 Aug., 1909.

A CENTENARY

Isambard Brunel

In an obscure position on Platform One at London's Paddington Station the traveller may notice, with fleeting interest, a plaque which commemorates Isambard Kingdom Brunel. In early Victorian attire, he gazes across at the Gothic-like structure of wrought and cast iron, where his name once meant so much. One hundred years ago, this versatile engineer died, but there is still plenty of evidence of the part which he played in the days when British capitalism established its dominant position in the world.

Mechanical Environment

Brunel came from a well-to-do family. His father—Marc Brunel—was born in the Vexin area of France, where he studied for the priesthood. He left the church for the French Navy and, when the Revolution came, fled to America. Here, as American industry began to develop, he established himself as a successful surveyor and architect. He came to England, where he set up a factory for the mass production of pulleys, of which, during the Napoleonic Wars, the British Navy was using 70,000 a year. He later turned his attention to the cutting and shaping of shipbuilding logs (an early form of pre-fabbing) and the mass production of boots for the army, using 16 different processes to turn out some 400 pairs a day. In 1821, Marc Brunel fell on hard times and was imprisoned for debt.

So it was that Isambard Kingdom Brunel grew up in an environment of mechanical exploration and adventure. Not only in his own family, but all around, could be seen the physical manifestations of industrialism. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the output of coal and iron and the products of the manufactories and the reformed agriculture produced an insistent need for faster and bulkier land transport. In the Cornish tin mine areas and the Durham coalfields the Trevethicks and Stevensons were answering the demand by building the new railways. It is in this field that Brunel is best remembered.

Great Western Railway

After working with his father on the Rotherhithe Tunnel in the 1820's, Brunel

designed and constructed several bridges and docks, notably at Plymouth, Brentford and Milford Haven. In 1833 he was appointed engineer to the Great Western Railway and for this company he did some of his greatest work. He was responsible for the first line to Bristol, with all the bridges and tunnels. (Part of his work consisted of negotiating with obstructive landowners). He designed the Wharnclyffe Viaduct at Hanwell and the great iron bridge which crosses the river at Saltash in Cornwall. Later he turned to building ocean-going steamships larger than any previously known. In 1838 his *Great Western* started the first regular steamships service between Great Britain and America, making the voyage in the unheard of time of 15 days. This was followed in 1845 by the *Great Britain*, the first large vessel to use the screw propeller, which plied between Liverpool and New York.

Brunel also had his failures. His championing of the 7 foot gauge, which started the famous "Battle of the Gauges," broke down in 1892, when the Great Western Railway adopted the standard gauge. On the South Devon Railway he experimented with a system of atmospheric propulsion, which proved a failure. Perhaps his most spectacular flop was the paddle steamer *Great Eastern*, a huge folly launched in 1858. The story of the *Great Eastern* is one of delays and casualties—it was never a financial success and ended as a submarine cable layer. The strain of building her broke Brunel's health. He had a stroke on the day he was watching her engines being tested—5th September, 1859—and ten days later he was dead.

Kings and Servers

Typical of his time, Brunel was impatient of restrictions on invention and careless of public opinion of his work. He reached his fame when the designers and builders of early industrial capitalism were rising their structures to the glory of Utility, Profit and Speed. Those were the days when the glass-vaulted roofs of Paddington and St. Pancras Stations had replaced the cathedrals and churches into which the wealthy landowner and merchant had

once poured their surplus. When the railway viaducts and the Stock Markets took the place of the Cloth Halls—and King Coal sat in state on the High Throne, with child labour for his server.

Brunel's railways carried the products of the appalling working conditions of the time, when coal miners seemed scarcely human and children were lucky to work no more than a twelve hour day in the textile mills. For the workers the new capitalism meant hard work, low pay and indifferent food eaten in gaunt, soulless tenements scowling down on the Main Line. It meant squalid back-to-back houses crouching around the pit head and the viciousness of dockland. No gift of science or brilliance of design was directed that way. Here lived the beasts of burden, gin soaked and humble in their misery. In its exciting day of expansion, capitalism spurned the very people who made it possible.

No blame to Brunel for this. He was an inventive master whose abilities were used by a vicious and inhuman social system. Remember that, if you ever take a look at that plaque.

JACK LAW.

Correspondence—continued from page 153

"production will expand to correspond to the people's needs,"—the only sane productive motive.

Because the size of a person's wage limits his access to wealth, workers compete among themselves for the better paid jobs. Sometimes they indulge in the "cut throat competition" of toadying to the boss and so on. In 1938, when *To a New Reader* was first published, this competition was often for employment regardless of the wage. It is naive to think that, in these conditions, the best person always gets the job. Indeed, a lot of people are doing work which is quite unsuited to human abilities. Our correspondent must be familiar with the monotonous employment which healthy young men are doomed to in chartered accountants' offices. And what about servicemen? Are they actually suited to killing and being killed?

Socialists think that we are capable of better than this. We want a world where only socially useful work is done, producing the very best to enrich the world's common pool of wealth for the benefit of humanity and not for some ephemeral personal advantage.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.



from the Branches

BETHNAL GREEN CAMPAIGN

COMRADES will have been well informed regarding ways and means in which the Party's election campaign can best be served. The week before the election will be the busiest, so—apart from the work that has been done—please leave plenty of time and energy for the first week in October, to support meetings, sell literature and generally assist in Party work. Comrades not in London can make full use of the additional literature available to circulate it as far as possible and so acquaint workers of the Party's case and the work to be done for Socialism. Turn to pages 146/7 for more election news.

HYDE PARK

ON Sunday afternoon, September 6th, a poster drive was held, mainly to advertise the evening's meeting and Party literature. Several comrades paraded with the posters and over ten dozen STANDARDS were sold. This activity was likened to a miniature May Day, and there is no doubt that whenever possible the Central Literature Sales Committee will organise similar events.

DENISON HOUSE MEETINGS

At the time of going to press the first of the two meetings on War was held on September 6th. Comrades Coster and Grant addressed an audience of over 100—75 per cent. being non-Party members. Collection and literature sales were very good indeed. The meeting on September 27th will be reported in the next issue of the *Standard*.

PADDINGTON

PADDINGTON BRANCH organised a propaganda trip to Nottingham on Sunday, September 13th. Several members from the Branch travelled by road. A general get-together was held at a Comrade's house in the afternoon—about 20 members and sympathisers were contacted and the outdoor meeting with an audience between 300 and 400 people

was addressed by Comrade May. Literature sales were £2 and the audience was very interested.

The Nottingham members have made plans to continue their good work during the winter months. One of the schemes is to hold introductory discussions after branch business every Wednesday evening. Comrades and sympathisers are keen and are working enthusiastically for the Party.

THE Central Branch Secretary would like to contact Comrade W. Reynolds, of Hatfield, whose address has changed. The Secretary has had letters returned.

DELEGATE MEETING

THE DELEGATE MEETING date has been altered to Saturday, October 31st, and Sunday, November 1st, due to the General Election date. Members will be fully occupied until October 8th, and it has been agreed that the postponement would be advisable. Will Comrades noting this please pass on the information to others.

HACKNEY AND ISLINGTON BRANCHES

THE Branches are holding Saturday evening meetings in Hyde Park from 8 p.m. Members and speakers are invited to assist and support the meetings.

EALING BRANCH

EALING BRANCH has just finished its most successful outdoor season at the Gloucester Road station. The fine weather has enabled meetings to be held regularly without interruption and attendances and literature sales have been consistently good.

The Branch's propaganda trips to Southsea have also been most successful. The meeting held on Sunday, 13th September, run in conjunction with Islington and Kingston branches, was particularly good. Speakers spoke for about six hours all told to good attentive audiences. Useful literature sales are reported.

Members are asked to note that an Economics Class is due to begin on Friday, 30th October, and will continue on alternate Fridays afterwards. Tutors will be Comrades Hardy and Coster.

We have been notified of the death of Comrades Snelgrove and Atherton. Both these comrades had been members of the party for a long time and did a great deal of work for Socialism. Obituaries will appear in a later issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

P. H.

COMRADE REES

Swansea Group have reported the death in Llanelli Hospital of Comrade Rees of Felinfoel, Llanelli. He was 67 years old.

Comrade Rees was crippled in the 1914-18 war, but this did not prevent him developing political interests. He was an ardent and knowledgeable materialist who, for years before joining the S.P.G.B., propagated the Socialist case on every possible occasion. It was through one of his letters to the press that Swansea Group got into touch with him; after a short while, although protesting that his disability made him only half a member, he joined the party.

Comrade Rees' death has depleted the ranks of the Swansea Group, who, for all their smallness, are doing such valuable work for Socialism.

NOTICES

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

MEETINGS

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Thursday, Oct. 1st 8 p.m., Globe School, Welwyn St., E.2
Mon. Oct. 5th 8 p.m., Columbia School, Ravenscroft St., E.2
Wednesday, Oct. 7th 8 p.m., Co-op Hall, 197 Mare St., E.8
(full details see page 147)

GLASGOW ELECTION MEETING

St. Andrews Halls, Room 2, Door G, Berkley St., Glasgow
"Why Waste Your Vote" J. Higgins
Monday, 5th October, Doors open 7.30 p.m.

BLOOMSBURY DISCUSSIONS

Conway Hall (North Room), Red Lion Square, W.C.1
Thursdays 8.30 p.m.

October 1st. "Who pays for the Arts" E. Kersley
November 5th. "Are the Workers Worse Off" G. Arthur
December 4th. "Socialism—Name or Movement" N. Gillies

LEWISHAM LECTURES

Davenport Hall, Davenport Road, Rushey Green, S.E.6
Mondays at 8 p.m.

October 12th. "Crime, Delinquency & Society" R. Coster
October 26th. "Currency & Inflation" E. Hardy

PADDINGTON LECTURES

"The Olive Branch" Crawford St. (Corner Homer St.) W.1
Wednesdays 8 p.m.

An analysis of Soviet Russia Today in 2 parts
Lecturer: E. Willmot

November 11th. "Who are the Capitalist Class in Russia"
November 18th. "Recent Developments in Russia"

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays	Hyde Park	3.30 & 7 p.m.
	East Street, Walworth	
	Oct. 11th,	11 a.m.
	Oct. 18th	1 p.m.
	Oct. 4th, 25th	12 noon
	Clapham Common	3.45 p.m.
	Beresford Square, Woolwich	8 p.m.
Thursdays	Tower Hill	12.30-2 p.m.
	Gloucester Road	8 p.m.
Fridays	Earls Court	8 p.m.
Saturdays	Rushcroft Road, Brixton	8 p.m.
	Castle Street, Kingston	8 p.m.
	Roper Street, Eltham	3 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Meetings are held in the City Square Saturday evenings, Sunday mornings and evenings.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowic, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Oct. 1 and 15) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: S. Roope, 42 Avalon Road, Orpington, Kent.

EALING. Fridays 8 p.m., Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCLES. 2nd Friday (Oct. 9) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Road, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Oct. 7 and 21) 8 p.m., Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Oct. 5 and 19) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (Oct. 7 and 21) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd., Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1 (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Oct. 6), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Oct. 20), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Oct. 9 and 23) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHELTEMHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakley, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (Oct. 13), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries: M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelli, Glam.

THE PASSING SHOW

The BMC Strike

THE recent strike of workers employed on the new small car produced by the British Motor Corporation evoked some curious statements by the employers. The employees were dissatisfied with the rates of pay offered them for the work on the new car, alleging that they meant a reduction in wages. To this, a representative of the management replied:—

The company regard this as blackmail and want it to be understood clearly that they are not prepared to hold any discussions until normal work is resumed. *The Guardian*, 1-9-59.

Those who defend capitalism sometimes do so on the grounds that free bargaining is the best way to reach fair prices for the goods or services that everyone has to offer. The workers, they say, are not forced to work for any particular employer, or for any particular wage; they are free to bargain, and thus arrive at a "fair" wage. This ignores the fact that the workers are in the nature of the case exploited by their employers; no business-owner will employ a man to work for him unless the man brings him a surplus over and above the value of his wages.

*

BUT even ignoring the exploitation of the workers, on which the whole capitalist system is founded, and even accepting the arguments about "free" bargaining and "fair" wages, how can the BMC defend its attitude? The workers are not prepared to accept the pay offered them for this particular job, and so stop work until agreement can be reached between the two sides. In doing this they are merely acting in accord with the teachings of the classical laissez-faire capitalist economists ("each acting

to forward his own interests will produce the greatest general good"). But the BMC refuse even to discuss the question until the men resume work on the BMC's terms! When that happens of course, the employers are free to spin out the talks as long as they want to—negotiations, adjournments, deferments committees, re-appraisals—and all the time the men are working on the BMC's terms. It is exactly as if the men were to say that they would not even start talks until the BMC employs them at the higher rate of pay they are asking. If the men did this how Fleet Street would gasp in horror; how the leader-writers would lash themselves into a frenzy, denouncing such a departure from the established ways of behaviour! But when the employers do it, that's all right. Fleet Street certainly gasped in horror at the latest BMC strike; but, the reason was that the workers had dared to cease work, instead of accepting whatever the management graciously decided to pay them, and touching their forelocks in gratitude that they were paid anything at all.

Fleet Street denounces forced labour when practiced by the Russians in far-away Siberia; but the only thing which appears likely to satisfy the big newspaper owners, and their class-comrades the big industrialists, is to forbid the workers to strike in any circumstances, and establish forced labour in this country as well.

Disaster

RELIGIOUSLY-INCLINED people present many problems to the inquiring mind. After the recent crash of a Dakota near Barcelona, which resulted in the deaths of all on board, a man who narrowly failed to catch the plane is reported to have said "God saved me" (*Daily Herald*, 21-8-59). Does he, one wonders, really believe that the Almighty personally intervened in his case, and put difficulties in his way so that he wouldn't catch the plane? If the Almighty went to this trouble, why

didn't he stop the other passengers catching the plane, or indeed simply prevent it crashing? Perhaps the Christian theologians could answer this question—they must have had a lot of practice—but to the rest of us it remains puzzling.

In the East

ANOTHER event reported the same day is also difficult to understand. At a Buddhist procession in Ceylon an elephant ran amok and killed fourteen people, including eleven women and a child. *The Guardian*, 21-8-59. Christians pondering on the Barcelona air crash can reflect that their Buddhist rivals will have an even harder time explaining this disaster away.

Plums

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily Herald* (26-8-59) raises the following point:—

I read . . . the other day that there is a plum glut in Worcestershire, and that the fruit would be left to rot. Why can't they be picked and sent to orphanages, children's homes and hospitals?

It's a comment often heard. If there is too much food at a certain time or place, why can't it be given to those who really need it?

The answer is that we live under a capitalist system. It wouldn't pay anybody to transport the surplus fruit from Worcestershire to the people who could eat it. And, by capitalist ethics, what doesn't pay isn't done. Besides that, to distribute free fruit to institutions like those mentioned in the letter would mean that they would reduce their purchases through the normal channels. This would strike at the profits of the middlemen and the farmers. However generous and kind-hearted such men may be personally, they can only stay in business if they play the capitalist game; and they would have to resist any suggestion which would have the effect of destroying their own trade.

There is a way in which we could distribute the products of society freely to the members of society; and that, of course, is the establishment of Socialism.

ALWYN EDGAR.

DARWIN CENTENARY

The "*Origin of Species*" was published in November 1859

November's Socialist Standard will be a special issue on

DARWINISM & SOCIALISM

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Never before has the Labour Party fought an election on a programme and policy so far removed from even the pretence of doing anything about the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

The Labour Party Fails

.....

DARWIN CENTENARY ISSUE



A 19th century cartoon

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THE five million pound election on 8th October was a triumph for Tory astuteness, a major defeat for the Labour Party, and a big encouragement for the Liberals. Almost without historical precedent, the Tories have now won three elections in succession and have increased their Parliamentary representation at each of four General Elections since 1945. From their low point of 213 M.P.'s in 1945 they have steadily grown to 298 in 1950, 321 in 1951, 345 in 1955 and now to 365. While they have grown the Labour Party representation in Parliament has steadily fallen, from its high peak of 393 in 1945 down to the present 258. And to make matters worse for the Labour Party, this last election has seen them losing many votes in both directions, to the Tories and to the Liberal Party.

Though the numbers of M.P.s has changed much there has not been a great swing over of votes. At this election about 1,000,000 more votes were cast than in 1955. Tories gained 400,000, Labour lost 200,000, Liberals gained 900,000, and "other candidates" lost 100,000. This near balance of votes has been a dominant factor in British politics since the end of the war. Under the influence of an electorate divided nearly evenly between the Government party and Opposition the Party leaders have had to restrain their more aggressive wings (the Tory backwoods-men and the Labour "left wingers") in order to attract voters not committed strongly to either party. What will now happen to the Labour Party remains to be seen, but inevitably a bitter struggle will take place between rival factions there, who want to go back to "more nationalisation" and "more soaking the rich," and those who, in the words of an *Observer* correspondent (October 4th, 1959) think that "the Labour Party should come to terms with capitalism, like the Democratic Party in America: that it should abandon its nationalisation plans and trade union

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

ties, and become a modern, classless capitalist party." Squaring these divergent points of view will be made even more difficult than it was already because spokesmen for both sides will be looking for scapegoats for the electoral disaster: and looking over their shoulders at the new threat from the cock-a-hoop Liberals. As the Conservative vote, about 13,700,000, will still be slightly below the combined Labour and Liberal votes, 12,200,000 and 1,610,000, the idea may well arise at some stage of a Liberal-Labour pact to get the Tories out.

Forecasts just before the election that growing cynicism about politics would show itself in large abstentions were not borne out, the percentage voting, 79 per cent., being higher than at the last election, though lower than in 1951, when over 82 per cent. of the electorate voted. It has always been a complaint of the Labour Party that they are hampered at elections by not getting a full presentation of their case in the Press and on the air. This time the former Labour Postmaster-General, Mr. Ness Edwards, maintained that the Labour case had been fairly stated on Television and that this had counterbalanced the bias of the newspapers. Of course, when he said this he thought his party was going to win, but in any event newspaper influence on voters cannot have had the importance attached to it. In 1945, when the Labour Party had its greatest triumph, and at the 1950 election the preponderant hostility of the Press did not prevent a Labour victory and this time the heavy Labour defeat took place though they had much more support in national newspapers, including the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial*, as well as the *Daily Herald*, and had also the support or at least the benevolence of the *Guardian* and *Observer*.

Not a Defeat for Socialism

Except at Bethnal Green, where the S.P.G.B. candidate, our Comrade Read, after a fine campaign by party members, polled 899 votes, the issue of Socialism versus capitalism was not an issue between the candidates. This did not prevent the *Financial Times* (October 9th) from describing the Tory victory as "A Vote against Socialism." And many commentators wrote of the election and of the Labour Party's defeat in terms of this being the end of the "class struggle."

An article written by Mr. Gaitskell in the *Daily Herald* just before polling day contained a remarkable admission about the facts of capitalism and its never-ending cleavage between the classes. Gaitskell recalled that he had been in the Labour Party for over 30 years and he conceded to the Tory claims of prosperity under Macmillan's Government the observation that in those thirty years "progress has been made." Then he made the staggering admission that after all the reforms that have been introduced "there are still indefensible inequalities of wealth in our society—one in 100 owning as much as the other 99 have between them!" (*Daily Herald*, October 5th, 1959). So, after half a century of social reforms the concentration of ownership in capitalist hands is not ended, not diminished, but, if anything, increased!

Yet never before has the Labour Party fought an election on a programme and policy so far removed from even the pretence of doing anything about the continuation of capitalism. There is quite a remarkable difference between their present tacit acceptance of capitalism and the resolutions the Labour Party used to move in Parliament in the nineteen-twenties denouncing capitalism and calling for its "gradual supersession."

One feature of the week preceding the election was massive buying of shares on the Stock Exchange by large and small investors in confident anticipation of a Tory victory. The Tories played one card well. About three years ago City circles, with the backing of many newspapers, started a campaign to get workers who had savings, to invest in company shares and unit trusts. Then, as the election approached the City editors who favoured Macmillan warned these small investors that a Labour victory would lead to a sharp drop in the price of their holdings. This must have been worth many tens of thousands of votes for Tory candidates.

Among the defeated Labour candidates was Sir Tom O'Brien, who lost his seat at Nottingham West. Here in particular was an example of the diminutive margin of difference between the Labour and Tory policies, for just before polling day, his Tory opponent expressed his difficulty in finding anything to disagree with in O'Brien's election address: "He's got the least controversial election address I have ever seen. 'Vote for O'Brien' is almost the only thing in it I can quarrel with" (*The Times*, October 5th, 1959). Labour leaders, with justification, charged Macmillan with having stolen their programme of reforms; which would seem to show that a majority of the workers prefer to have their reforms from a Conservative Government. If the Labour Party had been Socialist no one would steal from them.

One Labour claim was that they alone are the people able to deal with the Russian Government at a Summit Conference. Russian Government spokesmen won't have this. Moscow Radio attributed the Tory victory to the British electors longing for peace and to the fact that the Tories have a "special knack" for dealing with the Russians (*Daily Mail*, October 10th, 1959). Mr. Aneurin Bevan's explanation of his party's defeat is: "We lost because our policy measured up too closely to Macmillan's" (*Daily Express*, October 10th, 1959).

The Other Reformist Parties

The Communists can derive no comfort from the election, either in respect of their own 18 candidates or in respect of the Labour Party, to which, uninvited, they attached themselves. In one or two of the 18 constituencies their vote increased, but the general picture was of a continuation of the 14-year decline of their vote-catching fortunes. In 1945 their 21 candidates polled over 100,000 votes. In 1950, with 100 candidates, they received only 92,000. In 1955, 17 candidates polled 33,144, and this time 18 polled only 31,000. The *Daily Worker* (October 9th, 1959) sadly noted that "growing support expressed by

voters to Communist canvassers . . . was not translated into votes."

The official Communist line in the *Daily Worker* was, "Vote for the Communist 18—elsewhere vote Labour." The reasoning was of the usual tortuous kind and we can well understand the voter finding it hard to swallow. The essence of it was that the Tories must be thrown out because they can't be trusted, and the Labour Party put in; but as the Labour leaders also can't be trusted there must be Communist M.P.s to keep an eye on Labour M.P.s.

The I.L.P. is in an even more pathetic plight. It can look back to the nineteen-twenties, when it boasted of over 200 of its members in Parliament: now it is reduced to fighting only two constituencies. In those days the I.L.P. was proud of its twin achievements of having built up the Labour Party and of having destroyed the Liberals: now in its own decline it sees the reviving Liberals capturing votes from the Labour Party.

The Future

The Tory, Labour and Liberal leaders all spoke as if it is possible for the Government running capitalism to control trade and employment and the price level. They all blamed the others for what goes wrong and undertook to put it right. Only Macmillan made some effort to put the matter into real perspective, as was shown in the reply he gave to the *People* (October 4th) to the question: "If there was a world slump, what steps would the Conservatives take to tackle the unemployment problem in this country that might result?"

His reply contained the following warning note of what may happen:—

A world slump on the lines of that of 1929 is most unlikely, but recessions in trade may well occur from time to time, and a Conservative Government would immediately take the necessary steps to deal with them.

The fact is that the Tory Governments since 1951 have been singularly lucky, but their luck is not at all likely to hold out for another five years. The next recession may well be a much more drastic one than that from which British capitalism has just recovered: which will, of course, give the Labour Party or the Liberals (or a combination) their chance to break the long run of Conservative favour with the electors.

One thing the workers will get from the new Tory Government (workers get it from all governments everywhere, Tory, Liberal, Labour, Communist) will be the usual nauseating sermons from the rulers calling on the ruled to work harder and produce more. The working class have lost this election as they have lost every election so far held under capitalism.

H.

MEETINGS! see page 175

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

To the Editor



The Key to History

Dear Sir,

E.W., in his reply to my letter, assumes that I have no evidence for claiming that Marx believed that history was governed by laws which operate independent of the will of man; but his assumption, I don't think, is based on a proper understanding of Marxism, for when we turn to the Author's Prefaces in *Capital* we find this written: "Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence, but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence." On page 789 of the same book, that is (the Moore and Aveling translation of *Capital*) there is written: "The Capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the Capitalist mode of production, produces Capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But Capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation." Here we have Marx dealing with impersonal forces which operate independent of the wills of the Capitalists, that is, the laws inherent in Capitalist production which, according to Marx, are not willed by men.

It is true that Marx did not view history as something apart from men, but nevertheless he did not believe that men created the laws of history and directed the social movement according to their wills; for according to Marx it is impersonal forces working outside of will, consciousness and intelligence that force men to play a certain role in history. [It is true that ends are not always realized merely because men will them, but nevertheless, the motivation towards their realisation could not exist independent of their wills.] E.W. says that it is only when conditions are fulfilled can the will to exploit become effective, but he seems to forget here that these conditions for exploitation are willed by men. Capitalism no more came into existence independent of the will of men than Feudalism went out independent of their wills. E.W. talks about objective conditions, but does not state what these objective conditions are.

The objective conditions of Capitalist production are created by the subjective content and can therefore only be understood and motivated through subjectivity.

However, there is nothing wrong in speaking about objective conditions relating to Capitalist production as long as this is understood. The objective conditions of industry do not come out of the blue, they are created by men. E.W. would have us believe that objective conditions arise out of unwilling activities. This is true of climate, etc., but not of things created by men.

E.W. says that the absence of certain conditions made Socialism impossible 500 years ago, and that the presence of certain objective conditions make it possible today, but he seems to forget that the presence of certain objective conditions today make world destruction more of a possibility than the establishment of Socialism, and in that respect these objective conditions, which we have today for the realisation of Socialism, are worse than the objective conditions of 500 years ago; for, although it may not have been possible to realise Socialism at that time, it was at least impossible for them to realise the possibility of world destruction. However, seeing that E.W. believes that there is a key to history, he will no doubt believe that all the destructive objective conditions of today will, in the end, bring men nearer to the realisation of Socialism. But then again, this view is not founded on fact, but only belief which is opposed to facts as they stand today.

R. SMITH

Dundee.

* * *

REPLY

If Mr. Smith believes that history is the outcome of the projection of the wills of individuals, how explain the fact that men's historical activities have developed along definite lines, expressed in particular and class relations—Slavery—Feudalism—Capitalism? Mr. Smith himself offers neither evidence nor explanation for his views. Social classes are not created by the wills of individuals, they are the outcome of prior

economic development. The way wealth is organised and distributed between classes—the social relation of production—is dependent on a given stage of social development. The fact that at different times, men have found themselves, slave owner or slave, feudal lord or serf, employer or employee, expresses a definite historic mode of production, independent of the wills of those who participate in it and regardless of their good or bad intent. Different men are born in different social situations, hence unwilling by them. It is the degree of economic development corresponding to a given social situation which provides the objective possibilities for individuals having common economic aims, i.e., class aims, to further their interests. The material basis for existence and its degree of economic development in which men find themselves are the indispensable conditions for the continuance and furtherance of their productive activities. The material basis for men's existence is not, as Mr. Smith imagines, the creation of men's subjective processes i.e., their personal wishes, wills or desires; Individuals did not will themselves to become feudal lords no more than serfs willed serfdom. Nor did the bourgeois who for centuries were weaker than the feudal lords suddenly vanquish Feudalism by merely willing it out of existence.

Mr. Smith offers two quotes from *Capital*, neither of which gives support to his assertion that Marx held history to be an impersonal process. His method of quoting leaves much to be desired. The first quote—"which treats of social movements, governed by laws independent of human will or consciousness" are not Marx words, but those of a reviewer of *Capital*, describing what he believed to be Marx's historical method. Nevertheless, it is a fact that laws which are expressions (often approximate) of objective regularities discoverable in events do not depend on our will or consciousness or the law of gravity, etc., although by understanding them, they can be used in practical life. Again, the law of value which regulates present exchange relations is not dependent on the will or consciousness of the Capitalist. It is true the

Capitalist via exploitation wills to expand his capital. If he did not attempt to do both these things he would cease to be a Capitalist. Thus the Capitalist "will" moves within the bounds of iron compulsions.

In Mr. Smith's second quote, Marx is pointing out that small scattered private property is transformed into large-scale Capitalist property and this in turn would be transformed into common property as inexorably as a law of nature. Marx showed that the economic development which dissolved Feudalism and with it petty private production inevitably led to Capitalism. No historian has been able to show that there could have been any major social alternative to Capitalism. Yet so far as men being puppets of an impersonal economic process, it was this economic development, culminating in Capitalism, which gave rise to an unparalleled scope and intensity for men's activities, although it was class activities for class ends.

Again, Capitalism produces the will for Socialism and the economic conditions for making it effective, just as

Capitalism alone makes it possible to devastate the world with the hydrogen bomb. That is why Socialism and the hydrogen bomb were impossible 500 years ago. As Mr. Smith unwittingly admits this was because the objective conditions were different then. Socialism is the only alternative to Capitalism and it is this path which the working class must take if they are to achieve their class emancipation. Such is the nature of historic inevitability.

How little this second quote of Mr. Smith's has to do with fatalism is seen by the fact that the quote is lifted from a whole passage in which Marx makes human effort and moral indignation indispensable features of the social revolution.

Marx not only said men make history he exemplified it in his own actions. Again, his works *Class Struggles* and *18th Brumaire* are brilliant illustrations of his dictum. What Mr. Smith should have done was to show through Marx's voluminous works where he even once said, "men do not make history." But this Mr. Smith cannot do.

E. W.

50 Years Ago

THE LIBERAL ARGUMENT

In the event of an early General Election brought about by the Lords rejecting the Finance Bill, this must be the immediate subject of the appeal to the country. To this will be added, according to the apostles of the "Newest Liberalism," the abolition of the Lord's veto. The Liberals in such a case are confident of success, apparently sure that the enthusiasm for the Budget exists in sufficient force and depth to carry with it the greater constitutional question. But, without the Lords, what will the Liberal Party do for an excuse for their own procrastination in the matter of reform? Up to now the standing argument has been that the Lords blocked the way...

To conduct their present campaign the George-cum-Churchill combination has been arguing against the landed interest

that the land, rendered useful and valuable by social occupation, should not be exclusively enjoyed by a class of monopolists, but should contribute to the upkeep of the State. These great parliamentary debaters... must know that they are forging a double-edged weapon which must inevitably be turned against them when the working class, to whom the appeal is particularly directed, recognise that capital likewise owes its quality as a means of production to social activities, and is no less monopolised than the land itself. The income derived from an investment in industrial stock is no more defensible on those lines than is the income from an investment in land.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD
November 1909

NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.



Good Reading

Questions of Today	1/-
Racial Problem	1/-
Russia Since 1917	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.



SCHOOLS TO-DAY

What's happening to the Schools?

The Socialist Party's recent pamphlet explains the basic reasons for the changes in modern education

6d.



All literature obtainable from
SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4

A Visit to the U.S.A.

BOSTON

AFTER an all night plane journey I arrived in Boston early on Saturday morning, the 5th September.

The Conference commenced at 3 p.m. with Comrade Fenning in the Chair. Telegrams were read from the associated parties and members in different parts of the world. There were about 25 delegates present representing Boston, Rhode Island, New York, Detroit and Los Angeles. I was the only companion-party representative present.

The report of the National Secretary, Comrade Gloss, was read, which stated that the Party had not only held its own, but had made some progress. The "Western Socialist" had been issued regularly and also 100,000 leaflets. Finance had greatly improved. Not many outdoor propaganda meetings had been held, but there were plans for an improvement. Unfortunately the Party did not appear to be attracting sufficient young people. There had been a considerable growth in correspondence with companion-parties and sympathisers from all over the world.

Reports from various locals (branches) were given which showed uneven results. Los Angeles, in particular, had been extremely active with outdoor meetings, attending other groups to take part in discussions and distributing a considerable quantity of literature. Comrades Evans and Miller were addressing meetings regularly in the Los Angeles Area. The circulation of the "Western Socialist" had increased.

A resolution was passed that there be a monthly issue of the "Western Socialist," commencing with the January issue. A resolution was passed to reconsider a previous resolution that had opposed the acceptance of articles from non-members. Both these resolutions were the subject of considerable debate.

There was also considerable discussion on opening up new areas to propaganda, and it was agreed that Comrades Rab and Orner start the ball rolling by a visit to Chicago in the Spring, and other places be included as circumstances permitted.

Many other matters were discussed at length, but there is not space to include them. At the end of the Conference

there was a discussion under the title "Good and Welfare." This ranged over many matters and, to me, was the most interesting part of the Conference, as well as the most amusing. At 2 a.m., on the morning after the Conference, I heard the tape of part of this discussion. It was remarkable how clearly the voices came through, although the speakers were speaking from different parts of the hall. Altogether, I thought it was a very good Conference and much useful work was done.

On the first evening there was a dinner and a social gathering—many more members and sympathisers coming along for the purpose—making it a very jolly evening. On the third day there was a picnic in the morning in a park just outside of Boston, and in the afternoon a meeting on Boston Common—where the heat was stifling. Comrades Morrison, Miller, Gloss and Orner spoke, but it was hard work under the circumstances.

Through the herculean efforts of Comrade Gloss, who fixed the times with clock-like accuracy, a speaking tour had been arranged for me, which included Los Angeles, Vancouver, Victoria, Winnipeg, New York and, finally, Boston. I was met on time at every point.

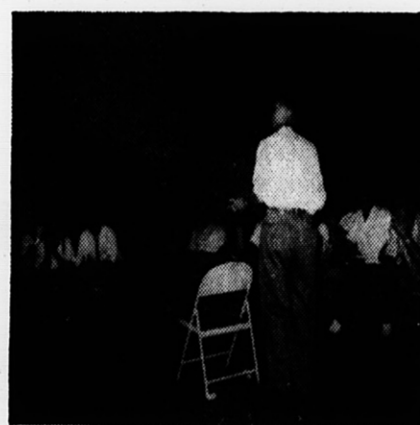
LOS ANGELES

On Tuesday, the 8th September, I left for Los Angeles by jet plane. It took only 5½ hours to do the journey. In Los Angeles Comrade Evans had fixed up six meetings and a TV appearance.

On September 9th I spoke to an audience of about 70 at Long Beach Open Forum, which is by the sea. I spoke for half-an-hour and then answered questions for half-an-hour—it was quite lively. The same evening I went to the house of an old member of the S.P.G.B.—Bob Housely—and answered questions until late at night to a group gathered there.

*The Journal of Scientific Socialism
from Canada and the U.S.A.*

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An evening meeting in Los Angeles

On the 11th September I went to Long Beach Open Forum again to answer criticisms of my previous talk and answer further questions. Again, it was a lively meeting, although only about 75 present. The size of audience was affected by the heat. Many found it too hot to sit out in the open at a meeting. All the time I was in Los Angeles the temperature was around the 100° mark—and smog added to the discomfort.

On the evening of the 11th I addressed a gathering of about 60 people, aged between 20 and 40, under the strangest circumstances I have ever spoken. It was a gathering of the Unitarian Laymen's League, and we had been invited to a steak dinner beforehand. It turned out to be a Barbecue, held in a large and pleasant garden where the steaks were grilled over three fires. When the dinner was over—at 8 p.m.—the group gathered around me in a semi-circle in the gloom. I spoke from beside one of the fires and the audience were just shapes in the darkness. They kept me on my feet for over two hours—speaking and answering questions. They were a mixed group of lawyers, doctors, mechanics, teachers, and so on, and the questions were good and interesting—generally covering conditions in England. It was again a very hot night—96° in the house, I was told.

On the 12th there was a meeting in Comrade Evans' garden—it was too hot to hold it in the house. He expected about 50 to 60 to come along, but only 20 showed up. A certain Max Schactman was speaking in Los Angeles, and, as Evans' place was twelve miles

**The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST**

out of town, the majority stayed in town to attend that meeting. However, though the meeting was small it went off alright.

On Sunday, the 13th, I addressed a meeting at Santa Monica in the morning—that was about 30 miles from Comrade Evans' house, where I was staying. It was still very hot and only 40 or so turned up, but there were good questions and some opposition.

ON TV

In the evening I was in Hollywood on TV for half-an-hour. It was on Dan Lundberg's Channel 13 at 9 o'clock. I saw Lundberg at his office two hours beforehand and, at his request, gave him a brief history of the Socialist movement. His questions on TV were all concerned with the Socialist attitude to various problems, such as War, Russia, Imperialism, reforms, and so on. A tape recording was taken of the interview and a selection from it will appear in the next issue of the *Western Socialist*.

VANCOUVER

On the 14th I travelled north to Vancouver, stopping at San Francisco to meet Comrade Macdonald, with whom I spent a very interesting two hours. When I reached Vancouver I found that Comrade Roddy had done the best piece of one-man advertising I had seen. Wherever I went I saw in shop windows bills advertising the forthcoming meeting. He also chased reporters and radio people so successfully that the two principal papers there printed reports of the meeting; I had ten minutes on the radio and my comments were included in a radio news broadcast. Comrade Sid Earp took care of excellent accommodation for me in a hotel, and Comrades Roddy and Ahrens took care of the arrangements for the only meeting I had in Vancouver. The meeting was held on the 18th. It was a very wet night, which affected the attendance. Seventy turned up; there were plenty of questions and a little opposition—mainly from the C.C.F. (a similar body to the Labour Party here). The collection at the meeting was 25 dollars, five subscriptions were taken, and some literature was sold.

I had discussions with members and sympathisers and spent a considerable time with Comrades Johnny and Margaret Ahrens, who were exceedingly hospitable to me. It appears to me that Vancouver is a very favourable place for the Socialist Party of Canada to concentrate upon. Comrade Ahrens and

Roddy are two knowledgeable and dependable comrades and there should soon be a good centre of activity there.

VICTORIA

Whilst at Vancouver I spent two days visiting Victoria. Here again I witnessed an excellent piece of one-man advertising by Comrade Jenkins, very similar to Comrade Roddy's efforts in Vancouver. Comrade Luff, who is getting on in years, had been active in Victoria for many years and has spread the Socialist message there very thoroughly. Comrade Jenkins arranged an interview with the local paper which gave me considerable space on the front page.

Comrades Luff and Jenkins arranged the meeting, which appeared to me to be about the best one I had during the tour. There were 70 present in a small hall. The meeting lasted two hours and forty minutes, and there were numerous good questions. One sub. was taken at the meeting, 10s. 6d. worth of literature sold, and a collection of £7 10s.—about the same as at Vancouver. Subsequently, four of those who attended the meeting (young fellows) have formed a class at Comrade Luff's house. A complete tape recording of the meeting was taken which I have borrowed and taken home with me. In Los Angeles, Vancouver and Victoria, I met many very old members of the Socialist Party of Canada.

WINNIPEG

On the 22nd I left Vancouver for Winnipeg, where I received the same warm and hospitable reception as I had done on my visit two years ago.

All the members and sympathisers combined to make my visit as enjoyable as possible.

Unfortunately they have difficulty in attracting young people and the attendance at the two meetings I addressed was small but interested. It seems, somehow, that Winnipeg is now out of the hub of political activity. However, they are holding regular meetings and distributing large numbers of leaflets, a selection of which have already been printed in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*.

NEW YORK

On the 30th September I left Winnipeg for New York, where I stayed with Comrade Sam Orner. On the next evening I went with him to Union Square, where he spoke for well over two hours to a good audience who plied him with plenty of questions. Union Square is somewhat like the meetings

and discussions at Marble Arch in London, and is the best meeting place I came across in the tour. It should be an excellent propaganda spot for the New York comrades. Comrade Davis did yeoman service, distributing leaflets advertising the indoor meeting the following night.

The indoor meeting was held in a room on the 14th floor of a building at the corner of Union Square. It seemed to me that the inaccessibility of the meeting place detracted from the attendance—which was not large. However, it was lively, with good questions and discussion.

On the 2nd October I returned to Boston where I addressed one meeting composed of members and sympathisers and spoke for a quarter of an hour on Boston Common. The rest of the time I recuperated at the home of Comrade Rab, where my stay was made as comfortable and pleasant as it could possibly be. On the 6th October I regretfully returned to London.

One matter I have overlooked. Comrade Smith of Los Angeles took an excellent recording of the TV interview and followed me by bus to Vancouver to present me with the tape. For this I am much beholden to him. It was played over at Vancouver, Victoria and Winnipeg and heard by a large number of members and sympathisers.

In conclusion, I would like to thank all the American and Canadian members and sympathisers for the warm way they received me, and the manner in which they went out of their way to make my visit as successful and pleasant as possible. I have only mentioned a few of the names of the many who helped me.

GILMAC.

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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

NOVEMBER 1959

THE DARWIN CENTENARY

AS this month is the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, a book that raised a storm in its day, we are devoting considerable space in this issue to Darwinism and its relation to Marxism, particularly as Marx published the first section of his main work the same year.

Darwinism is an outlook based upon certain fundamental propositions put forward by Charles Darwin, just as Marxism is an outlook based upon certain fundamental propositions put forward by Karl Marx. Books by both of them were published in 1859 which clearly stated their fundamental propositions, and each devoted the rest of his life to accumulating facts in support of the theories that had been put forward. In both instances their theories have been enriched and qualified in certain directions by subsequent investigation, but in neither instance has the accuracy of their fundamental propositions been affected.

Just as Darwin brought order into biological investigation, so Marx brought order into social investigations. Darwin demonstrated that living forms evolve and Marx demonstrated that social forms evolve.

Again, in both instances, their theories were assailed from all sides, and they were showered with vituperation, but, in spite of the critical efforts focussed upon them, a great deal that each put forward has become absorbed into accepted practice today. Every writer of repute in biological fields seeks to explain living forms at any period by delving into those that existed before them, in order to see how the new ones came into existence. In like manner, every writer of repute in sociological fields seeks to explain the social forms of a period by delving into the social organisation that preceded them, and observing the changes that brought into existence the new social form.

The idea of evolution was in the air long before Darwin wrote his book, but he brought it to earth by his observation and comparison of different living forms, and of the biological forms that had existed in past ages. In like manner the idea of Socialism was in the air long before

Marx wrote anything, but it was associated with experimental colonies out of touch with the general conditions of life of the times, Marx brought the idea to earth by his analysis of capitalism and of the forces within it that made for change, the principal of which was an organised and understanding working class. He also brought hope by showing the inevitability of a change from the present sordid system of profit-hunting, into a system where everyone could enjoy the best that life could offer.

In articles in this issue will be found an assessment of the work of both Darwin and Marx, and the effect they have had upon subsequent ideas.

In the early years of the Socialist Party of Great Britain the Darwin controversy was still at white heat. We accepted his theory of evolution and had to defend it from the platforms and in our literature. Now the antagonists have fled the field, the evolutionary theory is generally accepted, and the various religious denominations, which used to be its bitterest opponents, are trying their hardest to digest it into their deluding creeds, just as the economists and historians are trying to digest and demoralize Marxism.

* * *

Darwinism and Marxism

DARWINISM and Marxism both reveal in their respective spheres an ordered pattern of evolutionary development. Because one deals with the world of organic nature and the other with the world of men organised in Society, we can say that Marxism begins where Darwinism leaves off, yet together they form two halves of a unified cosmic whole.

That both Marx and Engels were highly gratified with the publication of *The Origin of Species* there was no doubt. Marx said, "It provides the basis in Natural History for our own theory," while Engels comments on "Darwin's emphasis on struggle and the discomforting of the conventionally religious who believed in the harmonious co-operation of organic nature." Yet both Marx and Engels were critically conscious of the limitations of Darwinism and its shortcomings.

What are the limitations of Darwinism? We may begin by saying that while Darwinism can account for the emergence of a biologically gifted creature from a simian ancestry, it cannot adequately explain man himself. By this is meant, man, not as a bare biological entity but as a social animal, capable of entering into definite relations with his kind via a form of economic organisation unprecedented in the animal kingdom.

It is true, animals adapt themselves to their environment and within narrow limits can change it. But the animal

world is itself a largely unchanging one, certainly not a transformative one. On the other hand, humans live in a world which they change and which changes them in turn. Moreover, men do not alter the environment as the result of organic or instinctive activity. They do not confront it with their bodily organisation but through their social organisation. Their mode of adaptation is not one of tooth and claw but of tools, techniques and division of labour. Men never face nature as bare individuals, or directly, as a fish in water or a bird in the air, but always as socially organised productive units.

Because men act upon their environment not as biological units but social units their environmental adaptations are social ones, via the medium of economic production. Thus the launching of the "Queen Mary" or the test flight of a Viking aircraft are not adaptations to the elements by way of fins, gills or wings: they are society's adaptation to the elements through a given division of labour.

It may be said that ants and bees are organised for production. But their organisation is the outcome of innate responses and will be reproduced ad infinitum. The economic organisation of men is not innate. It is not instinctively regulated, but consciously directed. This economic organisation is not "inside" an individual but outside of him. Simply, it is men entering into productive relations with other men. This does not presuppose some voluntary act, but the conditions in which men find themselves. For it is only by the necessity of economic organisation in which men enter into such production relations with other men that the production and reproduction of themselves becomes possible. So while human economic organism is external to each single man he is indissolubly connected with it by his relations with other men who are indispensable for his existence.

This interdependence of human beings expressed through their economic organisation reveals that the bond between man and man is not metaphysical or psychological, but practical. Men discover each other's bodies and actions, before they discover each other's minds. Men need one another in order to live before they need one another in order to converse. Consciousness is social before it is individual. The "us" is discovered prior to the "me." Before there is a man there are men.

Humanised Environment

Men are born into a set of social relations which they do not determine although these relations provide a range of possibilities, which, if actualised by men, can change or modify these relations and thus initiate a new range of possibilities and set new limits. While men are environmentalised humans they are nevertheless able to humanise their environment, and this progressively so. And this humanised milieu is reflected in towns, cities, roads, canals, bridges, machines and power stations, etc. Thus men are able to change their environment and be changed by it in a way not possible to an animal economy. That is why different environments have produced different men,

be it the Australian bushman, Athenian gentleman, the Roman centurion, the medieval knight, serf and guildsman, or wage worker and capitalist.

Man's environment is not something over and above him, a set of natural conditions to which he must conform, not something against which he operates, but something through which he operates. Man's environment is a humanised environment because it is the externalisation of human economic production. Human society is not something in which men stand in contrast to an externally imposed nature; human society is the interaction between nature on the one hand and man and man united in economic production on the other. Nature, then, in that it becomes itself the subject matter of men's productive activities, is social nature and historical nature. This is the essence of historical materialism.

It is the unity of this double interacting process between collective man, i.e., men socially organised in production and nature which constitutes the warp and woof of human society and marks it off from the rest of the animal kingdom.

The infant born as a biological entity into human society does not face a natural environment in which its growth and maturity are dependent on a pre-determined pattern of behaviour or innate responses. He is born into a social organisation and adapts himself to society. The biological unit born into a humanised environment becomes an environmentalised human with a humanised nature which comprises the characteristic human qualities—language, consciousness and self-consciousness, i.e., individuality. It is then socially organised men, organised through the instrumentality of economic production who are able to act on and through their environment and, by changing it, change themselves. It is this interacting process of man and his environment and the changes which result which constitute the law of historical development. It is not, then, the history of man in isolation, of abstract man, it is the story of active man entering into concrete, productive relations with others of his kind. It is the story of associated man who in changing the world has changed himself. "By acting on the external and changing it, man changes his own nature." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 198.) "All history," proclaims Marx, "is the modification of human nature." Human nature, far from being, as believed by many Darwinists, a constant in world history, is a variable which can within wide limits be modified by man's social and historical development. It was for this reason that Marx and Engels saw the limitations of Darwinism when they were fitting in that other half of the cosmic picture. The story of man is, then, the story of associated man, the story of what makes his social organisation and what makes him.

It was this other half of the cosmic whole which showed how from the economic production of associated man grew ritual, convention, social authority, and from which there evolved art, ethics and law, and the State, called by Marx the social superstructure, and because, in the evolution of society, the superstructure has become more remote from the economic foundations of society, it is imagined

by many to have a life of its own. It was Marx who showed how these "flowers of civilisation," ethics, law and politics, could only grow and be nourished from the economic soil.

The Dynamic of History

It was historical materialism which showed that the starting point of history is the nature and intensity of man's needs and how man in order to more adequately satisfy old needs improves his tools and productive techniques and in the process discovers new needs. The dynamic of history is the interaction of man's needs, and the changes in productive and technological processes in order to meet them: and by needs Marx meant not the bare vulgarised formula of mere food, clothing and shelter, for these themselves undergo qualitative changes. He included the whole of social culture, art, aesthetics, philosophy, science, as constituting formative human needs. The change in the quality and character of human needs and the technological means of gratifying them is the keynote to changes in human society and human nature. In fact, part of Marx's massive indictment of present society was that its class conditioned character was inadequate to satisfy human needs at any worthwhile human and cultural level.

But if human needs and the search for the means to gratify them have constituted the principle of historical evolution, then who have been the active carriers or agents of this change? Here Marx's answer was, from the point of historical research, revolutionary and revealing. Out of the needs of men, he said, arose the division of labour and from it arose specific vocational activity which came to confer social and economic advantages on those who performed them, and from being organisers and custodians of tribal property there evolved a privileged section who acquired class control over the productive resources and who held the unprivileged rest to economic ransom via exploitation.

Since the breakdown of primitive society human needs have been conditioned and expressed in the form of class needs, and the drive for the expansion of fresh outlets to gratify needs has been via class interest and activity. An extant ruling class will seek to preserve the conditions in line with its class needs and interests. Another class will seek to actualise and extend in line with its own needs the possibilities of economic development inherent in the old set-up in line with its own class needs. There is thus a struggle between the old and new contending social factions which, as Marx says, either ends in the overthrow of the old class or in the common ruin of the contending factions.

Marx showed that class struggles have, since the breakdown of early tribalism, taken a line through slavery, feudalism and capitalism. He also showed how the evolution of class society had brought about the conditions for the abolition of classes and the possibilities for realising a classless order.

Perhaps without unduly straining the meaning of the term, the materialist conception of history, we could call it the labour theory of history. For it was Marx and Engels who showed the vital part played by the labour process in the formation of human society and hence man himself,

and were thus able to shed light on a subject which the subject-matter and nature of Darwin's investigation could not adequately deal with. That was the transition of a special kind of anthropoid ape to human organisation.

Dismissing the notion of a bare individual man, living apart from associated man or, what comes to the same thing, apart from society, we are forced to the conclusion that sub-human anthropoids were unwittingly forced to associate in some primitive form of economic organisation and it was this economic activity over vast periods of time which compelled them to become man in the making and finally men. It was this pre-labour process, because labour does not strictly begin until man has become a tool-producing animal, which co-ordinated their activities and by bringing them together increased their mutual support and widened these activities and multiplied their mutual efforts.

Social Evolution

"Natural selection"—"the survival of the fittest," have no determination in the making of human society. Mutual co-operation certainly, though not in the biological sense, but by a primitive economic organisation of sub-humans interacting with its environment, which modified it and was modified by it in turn. Via social inheritance, cumulative changes were continuously transmitted and with the richer and more diverse and ever-growing experience, came ever-increasing ability to carry out productive acts to more complex levels. Finally, consciousness becomes the directing agent in production and man emerges. It is not man's biological gifts which constitute social life, but social life which facilitates and gives them expression in a socially organised way.

It was in the formation of this labour process that articulation became increasingly necessary as a means of communication. It was this impulse that developed the larynx of our simian ancestry and by means of greater and greater modulation, it finally came about that man learned to speak to man. Speech thus became the expression of human consciousness and itself the practical outcome of the need of socially organised existence.

While Darwinism dealt with biological evolution which included man, Marxism dealt with the evolution of man himself, i.e., associated man or human society and in doing so filled in important gaps left by Darwinism.

It might be said Darwinism is accepted today and Marxism is not. Darwinism, however, appeared as a threat to religion, not private property. Marxism threatened the existence of both.

It would be an overstatement to say that Darwin's theory is accepted in a real sense. A Society such as this, without real social direction and purpose, and whose economic forces work blindly and destructively, must reflect this in its social attitudes and theories. That is why magic, fetishism and religion remain the mirrors of a distorted reality. Even "science" retreats before "the higher truths." To accept scientifically and objectively man's link with the animal world presupposes a humanity and humility inconsistent with a set of social relations itself

based on the domination of man over man, and which generates in its decline a vast malaise and a neurotic impulse to self-destruction.

Only a classless society will have the humility to objectively proclaim its link with the animal world—only a socialist society will fully acknowledge both Marx's and Darwin's great contribution to the intellectual heritage of mankind.

E. W.

* * *

Charles Darwin His Life and Work

CHARLES DARWIN was born 150 years ago, on the 12th February, 1809. There was little in his early life to suggest its subsequent course. He was the son of a prosperous and popular general practitioner in the town of Shrewsbury, and was sent with his brother to a Shrewsbury school. There his headmaster was Dr. Butler, father of the well-known author of *Erewhon*, Samuel Butler. In later years Samuel Butler conceived a bitter personal antipathy to Darwin, and wrote a series of books, articles and pamphlets opposing his theory and charging its author with personal culpability.

Darwin's father was an able practical psychologist before Sigmund Freud was born. Charles (the son) has described him in detail in the *Autobiography** he wrote for his children. His father weighed 24 stone, and was quite a public character in the town. His treatment of his patients was most successful. "He told me that they always began by complaining in a vague manner about their health, and by practice he soon guessed what was really the matter. He then suggested that they had been suffering in their minds, and now they would pour out their troubles, and he heard nothing more about the body."

The father wanted his sons to follow medicine, so to Edinburgh they both went. Charles has described the incredible dullness of the lectures at Edinburgh which, he said, "were something fearful to remember." After being bored to tears by the lectures, Darwin junior attended two operations in the theatre, "two very bad ones, the second on a child . . . but I rushed away before they were completed. Nor did I ever attend again."

After two years at Edinburgh University, Darwin senior realised that his son had no wish to become a Doctor of Medicine. He therefore persuaded him to go to Cambridge to study Divinity and become a clergyman. "Considering how fiercely I have been attacked by the orthodox it seems

* *Autobiography of Charles Darwin*. Now published with all the deletions included by his granddaughter, Nora Barlow, Collins, 1958.

ludicrous that I once intended to be a clergyman." (Page 57.)

At Cambridge, Darwin attended the lectures of John Henslow, the botanist who was to give him one of the main interests of his life, Natural History. "No pursuit at Cambridge was followed with nearly so much eagerness or gave me so much pleasure as collecting beetles."

The second great influence was Chas. Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, in which is set forth a logical sequence of explanation of changes in the Earth's crust.

Henslow was a great influence in more ways than one because it was through Henslow, Darwin finally volunteered to accompany H.M.S. "Beagle." "The voyage of the 'Beagle' has been by far the most important event in my life and has determined my whole career" (page 76). The story of that voyage is still one of the best travel books ever written.

While collecting and classifying specimens of the South American coast, Darwin was forcibly struck by the similarity of giant, almost archaic, forms of life and their small European counterparts, giant lizards, huge turtles, prehistoric-looking armoured reptiles, giant bats, and the like, and the fossil record. Assiduously mastering Lyell's method in geology, he made records of coral deposits and drafted his paper, which explained the rise of the coral reefs by the gradual subsidence of the sea-bed.

Returning to England two years later he took several years to sort his records, finally publishing *The Voyage of the Beagle* while attending London Scientific Society meetings and residing in Gower Street. Although unusually strong as a young man, he now showed signs of ill-health. After returning to London, he married his cousin, Emma Wedgwood, of the pottery family of Etruria.

"Divine Revelations"

Darwin's own grandfather, Erasmus, was a quite outstanding and noteworthy thinker, actively following scientific progress, and composing a poem, *Zoonomia*, in which the idea of the evolution, or gradual development of various species, was expressed on purely conjectural grounds. Charles himself, in reading it, was quite unimpressed, although Samuel Butler almost accused him of plagiarising it.

Erasmus probably owed a good deal to Lamarck, the French 18th century naturalist, who was the Lysenko of the great French Revolution of '93, and whose book, *Philosophic Zoologique*, was a daring exposition of evolutionary change due to adaptation.

In 1839, Darwin was already assailed with doubts of Divine revelation:

But I had gradually come by this time to see that the Old Testament, from its manifestly false history of the world, with the Tower of Babel, the rainbow as a sign, etc., etc., and from its attributing to God the feelings of a revengeful tyrant, was no more to be trusted than the sacred books of the Hindus, or the beliefs of any barbarian.

The question then continually rose before my mind and would not be banished—is it credible that if God were now to make a revelation to the Hindus would he permit it to be connected with the belief in Vishnu Sara, etc., as Christianity is connected with the Old Testament? This appeared to me utterly incredible.

By further reflecting that the clearest evidence would be requisite to make any sane man believe in the miracles by which Christianity is supported—that the more we know of the fixed laws of Nature the more incredible do miracles become—that the men at that time were ignorant and credulous to a degree almost incomprehensible by us—that the Gospels cannot be proved to have been written simultaneously with the events—that they differ in many important details, far too important, as it seemed to me, to be admitted as the usual inaccuracies of eye-witnesses—by such reflections as these, which I give as not having the least novelty or value, but as they influenced me, I gradually came to disbelieve in Christianity as a divine revelation.

Some time later, in July, 1837, Darwin had already started his first notebook on the *Origin of Species*.

Everyone who believes, as I do, that all the corporeal and mental organs (excepting those which are neither advantageous or disadvantageous to them) of all beings have been developed through natural selection, or the survival of the fittest, will admit that these organs have been formed so that their possessors may compete successfully with other beings, and thus increase in number." Page 89.

In September, 1842, Darwin decided to move out of London and finally settled at Down, just outside Bromley in Kent. In this house the world-shaking masterpieces, *Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* were composed.

"In October, 1838, that is, fifteen months after I had begun my systematic enquiry, I happened to read for amusement, Malthus on population and, being well-prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence that goes on everywhere from long continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances, favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species.

"Here, then, I had at last got a theory by which to work." (Page 120.)

After planning to work for several years on this theory by collection of evidence, Darwin received a letter containing an Essay *On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the original type*, from a remarkable naturalist, Alfred Russell Wallace, then in Malaya, which "contained exactly the same theory as mine." Under these circumstances the two scientists agreed to submit their papers to the Linnean Society together.

Origin of Species

The *Origin of Species* was published in November, 1859, and the fat was in the fire. The first edition of 1,250 was sold out on the day of publication—and the storm broke. Few writers have experienced the flood of abuse, attacks and onslaughts which its author now encountered. Its reception was a mixed one. On the one hand, the Church and the parsons foamed at the mouth, on the other, the more enlightened spokesmen of the growing capitalist class

were not slow to seize on the "survival of the fittest" and use it to justify unscrupulous exploitation. Didn't Darwin, the great scientist, say, it was those best fitted who survived?—therefore the richest were "the fittest"—and so on. His fellow scientists were equally divided. These arguments were being used by Labour Party writers, like Ramsay Macdonald, 50 years later in *Socialism and Society*, etc.

No mention of Darwin's work is really complete without reference to T. H. Huxley, the brilliant Science teacher at the Royal College, who assumed the rôle of Darwin's gladiator. He it was who sought out the enemy, and attacked and destroyed him. His popular lectures at the Working Men's Colleges were attended and enjoyed by, among others, Marx and Engels.

It should nevertheless be said that outside their special subject of Biology, neither man had any original contribution to make. Huxley remained a fairly orthodox Liberal and supporter of British foreign policy all his days.

In his imperturbable loyalty to scientific fact and forthright espousal of the result of his researches, come what may, Darwin ranks with Galileo or Marx. He could equally with Marx have written as conclusion to the preface of his book, "Pursue your course and let the people talk." While the battle raged, he sat, or rather, lay down, and went on collecting facts. What Marx did for the domain of Economics, Darwin undoubtedly did for Biology. Both men found their subjects in a mess, like an old battlefield littered with the rubbish of exploded notions, and the corpses of false theories strewn about.

The *Origin of Species*, like *Capital*, was a gigantic broom, sweeping away the accumulated junk and placing the whole subject on a firm and logical footing. Indeed, the subsequent discoveries of Mendel and the whole science of Genetics is its direct result. This evidence of the evolution of Life, due to environmental causes is obviously of paramount importance to the Marxian theory of the Evolution of Society.

Darwin's theory is not entirely flawless—the chief difficulty being the impossibility of actually proving permanent mutations, which he was the first to see. Also "the fittest" need not be confined to the individual members of a species, as Kropotkin and others have shown.

When all this has been said, Charles Darwin will nevertheless forever hold his place as the great pioneer, whose indefatigable energy supplied the evidence which became the signpost to the scientific study of Life.

His was the torpedo which sank Noah's Ark.

HORATIO

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DARWIN'S BULLDOG

IN all the controversy aroused by the publication of Darwin's theory during the last century one man towered head and shoulders above his contemporaries. That man was Thomas Henry Huxley.

As Dr. Cyril Bibby so convincingly shows (*T. H. Huxley*, Watts 25s.), Huxley had clearly appreciated several years before the publication of the *Origin of Species* that varieties of structure within a group had come about by modification of an original type, though he had no conception, yet, of evolution as a widely embracing principle.

Darwin's idea of natural selection provided a conceivable mechanism for such evolution and Huxley accepted it "subject to the production of proof that physiological species may be produced by selective breeding." In those days, Mendel's work had not provided the understanding of the laws of inheritance. "Darwin is obliged to speak," Huxley said, "of variation as if it were spontaneous or a matter of chance."

Having satisfied himself that Darwin's idea merited support—Huxley threw his abilities and inexhaustible energy into "smiting the Amalekites," i.e., demolishing its opponents, chiefly churchmen and statesmen as well as a few obstinate scientists.

The dispute which will always be most notorious was that with the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. S. Wilberforce ("Soapy Sam") at the meeting of the British Association, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. This specious prelate took it into his head to taunt Huxley in person, inviting him to inform the gathering whether he claimed descent from an ape on his maternal or paternal grandparents' side, said Huxley:

If then, the question is put to me, would I rather have a miserable ape for a grandfather or a man highly endowed by nature and possessed of great means of influence and yet who employs those faculties and that influence for the mere purpose of introducing ridicule into a grave scientific discussion—I unhesitatingly affirm my preference for the ape.

This sort of crushing rejoinder was an augur of what was in store for a succession of opponents, from Richard Owen, the anatomist who unsuccessfully disputed Huxley's proof that the Great Apes had more in common with man than they had with the monkeys, to

William Gladstone, the Grand Old Man of Liberalism—who took time off from Parliamentary duties to try to refute Darwin and Evolution by claiming that the Genesis story was supported by scientific research.

Those interested to read the details of these and other debates cannot do better than consult Dr. Bibby's work. Huxley's was a virtuoso performance. When one gets the slightest inkling of the amount of blind ignorant prejudice, intense personal hatred, and violent hostility that any opposition to orthodox religious views elicited in those days, his achievement increases in stature.

Huxley was the gladiator—"Darwin's Bulldog" they called him—who did not hesitate when circumstances were favourable to draw the consistent conclusions from Darwinism that petrified the Victorians. He went to Edinburgh, of all places, and bluntly told an audience that "he had no doubt of the origin of man from the same stock as the apes," when Darwin was cautiously writing that perhaps "light would be thrown on this subject."

To us, in slightly more enlightened days, the question naturally arises, "How on earth did he manage it?" How was it possible for him to occupy the most important teaching posts and eventually administrative control of the College of Science? How could he maintain his position successfully as Chairman of the first London School Board and practically direct its first efforts, a minority of one in a group of professional churchmen?

First, there can be no doubt of his consummate professional ability. If not the first biologist, he was undoubtedly the first biological teacher of his own or any other age. A host of his students from H. G. Wells to Ray Lankester, agree that he was the best teacher they ever heard.

Secondly, by his adroitness in knowing exactly what to say, and when and how to say it. Probably his invention of the word "agnostic" was a "fig-leaf for materialism" as Lenin called it. It enabled him to get the ear of audiences, and the Press, to put the case.

But, perhaps most of all, there was his transparent sincerity and integrity, which even his wildest opponents could not question.

Yes, undoubtedly, he knew that his lectures to working men would bring the response they did. Working people flocked to hear him, Marx and Engels among them. A brilliant expositor, in complete command of his subject, his speeches sprinkled with witty asides, T. H. Huxley packed the halls of the towns of England (and Scotland and U.S.A.) for years.

And how he revelled in it! Working Men's Institutes all over the country vied for his attention. The mere list of his offices and appointments is staggering even today. This was the man who in his speech when receiving the Darwin medal could say:

I am sincerely of the opinion that the views which were propounded by Mr. Darwin 34 years ago may be understood hereafter as constituting an epoch in the intellectual history of the human race. They will modify the whole of our thought and opinions, our most intimate convictions. But I do not know, and I do not think anybody knows whether the particular views which he held will be hereafter fortified by the experience of the ages which come after us.

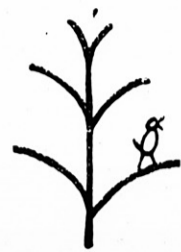
"This was the man who wrote after his experiences as a boy in the East End of London that he "used to wonder sometimes why these people did not sally forth and get a few hours' eating and drinking and plunder to their heart's content before the police could stop and hang a few of them." Later in life he said, "I remain true to my plebeian order" and, "if I am to be remembered I would rather it should be as a man who did his best to help the people."

Dr. Bibby is to be congratulated on a superb piece of documentation.

HORATIO.

Thomas Huxley on the death of his son

"As I stood behind the coffin of my little son the other day, with my mind bent on anything but disputation, the officiating minister read, as part of his duty the words, "if the dead rise not again, let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." I cannot tell you how inexpressibly they shocked me. Paul had neither wife nor child; or he must have known that his alternative involved a blasphemy against all that was best and noblest in human nature. I could have laughed with scorn. What! because I am face to face with irreparable loss, because I have given back to the source from whence it came, the cause of a great happiness, still retaining through all my life the blessings which have sprung and will spring from that cause, I am to renounce my manhood, and, howling, grovel in bestiality? Why, the very apes know better, and if you shoot their young, the poor brutes grieve their grief out and do not immediately seek distraction in a gorge."



from the Branches

WINTER LECTURES

WINTER indoor propaganda has been arranged for branches with lectures following branch business in many instances, apart from specially organised propaganda meetings. In London, the Propaganda Committee have planned a series of theoretical lectures at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria. Five weekly lectures, commencing Sunday, November 8th to December 6th. The lectures commence at 7.30 p.m. promptly. These should prove very interesting and useful for members and sympathisers, and if, as hoped, the series prove successful, a further programme will be arranged for the New Year. Regular support will ensure this. Full details on the "Meetings" page.

GILMAC IN AMERICA

A BRIEF resume of Comrade Gilmac's trip is on page. . . . There is no doubt that the visit was excellent in every way, and it is hoped, that such annual visits will become regular, and that our comrades from the West will, in the not too distant future, be able to pay reciprocal visits to Britain.

BETHNAL GREEN ELECTION

THE team work of many comrades before and during the election was very stimulating. Details of the campaign are given on page. . . .

During the Campaign a lot of canvassing of the S.S. took place and the total sales were something like 500 copies. Canvassing had, prior to the election, been taking place in an intensive way for a couple of years.

We want to make a particular effort here to recall on these S.S. buyers, and for this reason, we have made the following canvassing arrangements. We hope as many members as possible can come along to help, as there is a lot of work to be done.

Sunday, 1st November, 11 a.m.—Regal Cinema, Well Street.
Friday, 6th November, 7.30 p.m.—Regal Cinema, Well Street.

Sunday, 8th November, 11 a.m.—York Hall, Cambridge Heath Road.
Sunday, 15th November, 11 a.m.—York Hall, Cambridge Heath Road.
Friday, 20th November, 7.30 p.m.—Odean Cinema, Hackney Road.
Sunday, 22nd November, 11 a.m.—Odean Cinema, Hackney Road.
Sunday, 29th November, 11 a.m.—Regal Cinema, Well Street.

NOTTINGHAM BRANCH

NOTTINGHAM BRANCH continues well with outdoor propaganda. During the pre-Election week-end, Comrades Baldwin

and D'Arcy held propaganda meetings very successfully, despite the fact that at one meeting the Labour Party candidate and his supporters became agitated because they wished to hasten our meeting so that they could address the crowd. This was not greatly appreciated by the Nottingham audience who give regular support to our meetings, which are held every week-end—election or no election. During the week-end, many pamphlets were sold, as it was so early in the month, the October STANDARDS had not then arrived.

EALING BRANCH

WILL all members and sympathisers note that the Economics Class has now begun and will continue fortnightly, alternating with ordinary Branch business meetings. The second class will be on Friday, 13th November, commencing 8 p.m. sharp. P. H.

A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN

The election is over. The squabble between the Labour, Liberal and Tory candidates for your votes has now been settled. The fact that the Tories won is from our standpoint the same as if the Labour or the Liberals were the victorious party. All three of them stand fundamentally for the same thing, the private property system based upon the exploitation of wage labour. Amidst all the furore and heat generated by the representatives of the contending parties, there was only one candidate who stood apart from such arguments as whether purchase tax should be reduced or the old age pensioners get a ten shilling increase.

In Bethnal Green for the first time in its political history a Socialist candidate was standing. The issue before the electorate there was not whether they would get a bit more if he was elected, but the recognition that the system under which we live is unable to satisfy our needs materially as well as mentally, and only by changing it would we be able to live a full and satisfactory life. Socialism was the issue put to the electorate.

899 people responded to our objective. That was the number of votes we polled. Our opponents may chide and jibe us, but we would rather have no votes at all than the millions that are misguidedly given to the representatives of capi-

talism.

The party members rallied round magnificently for the work the election entailed. Thirty thousand election addresses and the same number of election broadsheets were distributed. Six hundred SOCIALIST STANDARDS were sold during the canvassing drives. The Tory, Liberal, and Labour candidates were challenged to state their case at our meetings but were disinclined to avail themselves of this opportunity. We held five well-attended meetings at different halls and questions were asked about many aspects of the Socialist case. Our comrade Read was invited along with the other three candidates to speak before a selected audience. He showed, much to the delight of the audience and to the discomfiture of the other candidates, not where they differed, but in actual fact how much alike they were in their policies and objects.

Members can congratulate themselves on a job well done, bearing in mind that our task is a gigantic one and the greater the obstacle the sweeter the success.

J. G.

Meeting
WHY LABOUR FAILED
See page 175

MEETINGS

DENISON HOUSE SUNDAY LECTURES

A series of 5 Sunday lectures at 7.30pm, Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, SW1.

- Nov 8 "Who are the Power Elite in the Soviet Union?" E. Willmott
Nov 15 "Recent Developments in the Soviet Union" E. Willmott
Nov 22 "Industrial Crises" E. Hardy
Nov 29 "Industrial Revolution and Technical Change" R. Coster
Dec 6 "Inflation and Recent Government Policy" E. Hardy

BETHNAL GREEN MEETING

- Nov 6 "The Election and After—Why the Labour Party Failed" Friday November 6th at 7.30pm Bethnal Green Library, Cambridge Heath Rd. (Buses 8, 106, 60, 653).

LEWISHAM LECTURES

- Davenport Hall, Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, SE6 Mondays at 8pm.
Nov 9 "The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" B. Jack
23 "Art and Social Life" E. Kersley

PADDINGTON LECTURES

- The Olive Branch, Crawford St., W1 Wednesdays at 8.30pm.
Nov 4 "Art and Social Life" E. Kersley
11 "Who are the Capitalist Class in Russia" E. Willmott
18 "Trends in Russia Today" E. Willmott
25 "The Roman Catholic Church" R. Coster
Dec 2 "Living Standards—High or Low?" J. D'Arcy

BLOOMSBURY DISCUSSION

- Conway Hall (North Room), Red Lion Square, WCI Thursdays at 8.30pm.
Nov 5 "Are Workers Worse Off?" G. Arthur
Dec 4 "Socialism—Name or Movement?" N. Gillies

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

- Sundays** Hyde Park, 3.30pm.
East Street, Walworth
Nov 1st, 15th, (11am); 8th, 29th, (12 noon); 22nd (1pm)
Clapham Common, 3.45pm.
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8pm.
Thursdays Tower Hill, 12.30-2pm.
Gloucester Road, 8pm.
Saturdays Rushcroft Rd., Brixton, 8pm.
Castle Street, Kingston, 8pm.
Roper Street, Eltham, 3pm.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

- BASILDON.** Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.
BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.
BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Nov. 5 and 19) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.
CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.
DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: W. G. Catt, 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9.
EALING. Fridays 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.
ECCLES. 2nd Friday (Nov 13) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.
FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Nov 5 discussion and 19 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.
GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Nov. 4 and 18) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.
GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Nov. 2, 16, and 30) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: H. Stewart, 617 Maryhill Road, N.W.
HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Dane, 19 Edith Street, E.2.
HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays (Nov. 11 and 25) 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Rd Abbey Rd., N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.
ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.
KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.
LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.
NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.
PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1 (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.
SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Nov. 3), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Nov. 17), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.
WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.
WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.
WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Nov. 13 and 27) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

- BRISTOL.** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2 Tel.: 24680.
CHELTHAM. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.
DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.
LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Enquiries: M. Shaw, 38 Arnside Crescent, Morecambe.
MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.
MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (Nov. 11), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.
NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.
OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.
REDHILL. Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.
SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.
SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliog, Llanelly, Glam.

The Passing Show

THE glad news was heard in a million households on the Friday night after the General Election: the class war is obsolete! Mr. Macmillan announced it on TV. "This seems to me," he added, "a great gain for the future." This sentiment will be echoed by workers everywhere. For now clerks, dockers, factory-operatives, will be able to put in immediate demands for wage increases and improved conditions, and the employers will agree forthwith. If they resisted, and defended their profits, they would be taking part in a struggle between classes—between those who own the means of production and those who have to work them. But they won't resist—we have Mr. Macmillan's own word for it: the class war is obsolete.

Perhaps if the employees in Mr. Macmillan's own family firm, the publishing business, took him at his word, we should soon enough see the difference between Mr. Macmillan, the soft-soap politician, and Mr. Macmillan, the member of the ruling class.

CHANGE OF MOOD

THERE was another significant phrase in the course of the Prime Minister's speech. Before the election we all heard Conservative candidates promising that "it will be even better if you vote for us"; but in his TV speech Mr. Macmillan could only venture as far as "I hope that in the course of the next Parliament it may be possible to maintain the national prosperity," and so forth. Before we voted, it was the indicative mood—"it will be better"; now the ballot boxes are closed again, the mood is subjunctive—"I hope it may be possible." How soon the victorious party begins to tone down its pre-election promises!

DEMOCRACY

As against all the other parties, the Conservatives start with a great advantage: that very powerful instrument of propaganda, the Press, is largely on their side. In the field of the mass-circulation daily newspapers, the Conservative

"Telegraph," "Mail," "Express," and "Sketch," together have over eight million customers; while the Labour-supporting "Herald" and "Mirror" have a circulation of just under six million (*The Guardian*, 9/10/59). On Sundays the Conservative papers sell over fifteen million copies, while again the Labour papers sell fewer than six millions. As for the provincial press, both daily and evening, the overwhelming majority of papers support the Conservatives. Apart from this, the British electoral system itself has a bias towards the Conservatives—admittedly small, but occasionally decisive, as in 1951, when the Labour Party had 220,000 more votes than the Conservatives, but twenty-six fewer seats (*The Observer*, 11/10/59).

Of the two Houses of Parliament, the House of Lords (although its powers are now greatly cut down) has a permanent Conservative majority. As to the elected House of Commons, the results of the Conservative advantages detailed above are soon seen. The Commons just returned should last, with a Government majority of 100, for the full five years, until 1964. If it does, it will mean that in the forty-six years between the "khaki" election of 1918 and 1964, the Labour Party will have had a majority in the House of Commons for only six years. For three years (1923-4 and 1929-31) no single party had a majority; while for thirty-seven out of these forty-six years, the Conservatives will have had a clear majority over all other parties. The only General Election since Asquith was Premier to have produced a workable non-Conservative majority was that of 1945 (the narrow Labour majority of 1950 was not, of course, a workable one and lasted only eighteen months). And the 1945 result was the product of the holocaust of the Second World War. It seems, in fact, that it takes a cataclysm to uproot the Conservative majority in Parliament.

LABOURISM

THE only sure way to alter these conditions is to bring about Socialism: and the way to do that is by the steady

Important Socialist Lectures

**Denison House
every Sunday**

7.30 p.m.

Full details on page 175

spread of Socialist ideas. Even if the Labour Party did form Governments more often it would make no difference to the economic system. The Labour Party used to claim it was a Socialist Party, but apparently it is now abandoning this pretence, judging by Mr. Gaitskell's remark that "Labour wants to make Capitalism work better and more fairly than it does under a Conservative Government" (*The Observer*, 11/10/59). As to that, one can only say that there is only one way to run Capitalism, and that is for the benefit of the Capitalists.

SOUTH AFRICA

FROM *The Times*, 12/10/59:

Pretoria, October 11th.—Five British Socialist publications have been banned as objectionable literature under an official "Gazette" list published here. They are the fourth revised edition of "Questions of the Day," "Socialism S.P.G.B.," "Socialist Comment," "The Socialist Party and War," and "Socialist Party of Great Britain—its Principles and Policy." The "Gazette" notice gave no reason why these publications are regarded as objectionable.—Reuter.

For those who have forgotten, South Africa is one of the Western allies, united in defence of democracy and freedom of speech, or so they tell us. It is interesting to observe that the South African Government, by banning these Socialist Party pamphlets, has paid an unwilling tribute to their effectiveness.

ALWIN EDGAR.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 37 Banner Street, London, E.C.1.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

When the pioneers of the Labour Party dreamed of placing themselves at the head of a grateful army of electors by enacting social reforms, they never thought of a possibility of a Tory Party that beat them at the same game.

Future of the Labour Party

• • • • •

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AS outsiders we look on curiously as the factions in the Labour Party argue about why they lost the election and about whether their chances would be better next time if they got nearer to the Tories or further away, or if they dropped their programme altogether. Unlike other outsiders who are butting in with advice we have no guidance to offer to the Labour Party. Our stand is a simple one. We seek Socialism and have always been convinced that the Labour Party could never be anything but an obstacle in our path: all we wish to see is the disappearance of the Labour parties of the world and their replacement by Socialist parties. But those who have not yet come to see things as Socialists do can usefully note the difficulties in which its own policies have involved the Labour Party.

Douglas Jay, the Labour M.P., who started the row, held various posts in the Labour Government, 1945-1951, and retained his seat at Battersea North in the recent election, though with a reduced majority. Writing in *Forward* (October 16th, 1959) under the title "*Are We Downhearted?*" Yes! " he admitted that since 1945 there has been "a persistent drift away from Labour towards the Tories," and offered as a provisional answer, the following:—

1—THE BETTER off wage earners and numerous salary earners are tending to regard the Labour Party as associated with a class to which they themselves don't belong. Few of them—least of all the women—feel themselves to be members of a "working class." We are in danger of fighting under the label of a class which no longer exists.

If you doubt this, ask anyone who canvassed intensively in the last four weeks, particularly in the new housing estates. We must have a wider cross sectional appeal. What the public wants is a vigorous radical reforming open-minded party.

2—THE WORD "nationalisation" has become damaging to the Labour Party. This is a fact; and it is no use denying it, even if you deplore it. We have allowed the word which properly applies only to public monopoly, to be associated with social ownership as a whole. The myth that we intended to

Journal of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

"nationalise" anything and everything was very powerful in this Election—any canvasser will agree. We must destroy this myth decisively; otherwise we may never win again.

3—Favourable economic circumstances for the Tories meant more, in terms of votes than any moral argument or propaganda vigour could counteract. True, the old people, the unemployed and badly housed, were suffering badly.

Opponents of Jay attacked him for suggesting that the Labour Party should water down its programme on Nationalisation. So far Mr. Gaitskell has not committed himself publicly in the controversy, but there is little doubt where he stood a few years ago at the time that he wrote the Fabian Tract *Socialism and Nationalisation* (July, 1956).

In that pamphlet he contended that nationalisation should be regarded as a means to achieving a better social system and not as an end in itself; though he frankly admitted that in the Labour Party it had often been treated as an end in itself, and indeed as "more or less identical with Socialism" (page 5). This, he said, was because many members of the Labour Party considered that nationalisation was the only way to get what they were driving at and that it could not fail to produce the desired ends. He now thinks that nationalisation is not by any means "the only way."

The truth is that the Labour Party, in its half-century of propaganda, has accepted or tolerated the expression of many divergent views on nationalisation. Some advocates regarded it as a good business proposition; one that would show big economies, big profits and low charges. Others thought it would lead to higher wages, and others again, including Mr. Gaitskell, thought it would lead to the transfer of wealth from the rich to the government to be used to make the poor better off. (As the £53 million a year being paid indefinitely on the Government securities given to former coal and railway shareholders is probably at least double the profits they would now be getting in their shrinking industries if nationalisation had not taken place, the argument seems to be a particularly silly one).

The Whole Hog on Nationalisation

Some of the Labour leaders who want to forget nationalisation deny that the Labour Party ever intended to go the whole hog—though why shouldn't they if they thought it such a good thing? But in 1935 the Labour Party published a pamphlet, *The Position of the Middle*

Class Worker in the Transition to Socialism, by Lawrence Benjamin. In it he stated plainly that the Labour Party intended to take over the whole productive machine, land, industrial plant, warehouses, shop, stores, and the banks and financial houses. And he wrote:—

"But," says someone in perhaps horror-struck tones, "if all the parts of the national economic machine are not privately owned, they would be publicly owned—and this means Socialism." Certainly this is true. It does mean Socialism." (Page 9.)

The Real Dilemma

The mess the Labour Party is in is the result of its own past muddled thinking. All its groups, however divided on other things, persuaded themselves that nationalisation would be an attractive institution and a vote-catcher. They are now having to swallow the bitter truth—that the extension of nationalisation is not wanted by most workers and has nothing to offer most capitalists. (Labour parties in Austria, Germany and elsewhere have met the same drift of opinion). So now one faction would willingly drop nationalisation in order to win the next election, but this can only look like treachery to the other faction, for whom the only purpose of winning an election is to introduce more nationalisation.

The Labour Party has many other worries when it looks to its future. It would like to see the Tories reverting to their less astute policies of earlier decades, which would help to stir up interest among the workers. But according to some accounts Mr. MacMillan, himself a one-time critic of Tory "reaction," is deliberately setting out to pursue what "Cross-bencher" calls "a Leftward reforming course." *Sunday Express* (November 8th, 1959). When the early pioneers of the Labour Party dreamed of placing themselves at the head of a grateful army of electors by first popularising and then enacting a series of social reforms, they never thought of the possibility of a Tory party that beat them at the same game.

The arguments in Labour Party ranks will go on for months and years and will never be finally settled until that Party disintegrates, to give place to the Socialist Party. In the meantime the present decline of nationalisation, which we never supported, should give an added opportunity for Socialist propaganda to make headway against all the other issues.

H.

NOTICES

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the S.P.G.B. Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

ORDERS for literature should be sent to the Literature Department, S.P.G.B., at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, S.P.G.B., 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

LETTERS containing postal orders, etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, S.P.G.B., at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the S.P.G.B.

In order that copies of the SOCIALIST STANDARD can be on sale in the Provinces on the first day of the month, it has been decided to have it printed several days earlier. This requires that articles shall be delivered to the Editorial Committee at Head Office not later than the 14th of the month. Notices of meetings must also be sent in earlier than in the past, though it will sometimes be possible to secure their insertion later than the 14th.

The Affluent Society

In the May and June SOCIALIST STANDARD we reviewed Galbraith's book *The Affluent Society* in respect of his views on Marxism. We promised to review the book as a whole, but other subjects intervened. We have now been able to make good the omission.

PROFESSOR GALBRAITH'S book *The Affluent Society** is in refreshing contrast to the academic tradition of bourgeois economics. Not only does he raise questions never formulated in orthodox circles, but he also tries to answer them. His particular concern is with the nostrums, attitudes and values of politicians, pundits and businessmen. These ruling ideas are characterised by him as "The Conventional Wisdom." What he calls "conventional wisdom" we as Marxists would term aspects of the ideological super-structure of capitalism. Of "the conventional wisdom," he says:—

... to some extent [it] has been professionalised. Individuals most notably the great television and radio commentators, make a profession of knowing and saying with elegance and unction what their audiences will find most acceptable. But in general, articulation of the conventional wisdom is a prerogative of academic, public or business position. . . . It is one of the rewards of high academic rank, although such a rank is also a reward for expounding the conventional wisdom at a properly sophisticated level. (Page 9.)

He further states:—

The conventional wisdom having been made more or less identical with sound scholarship, its position is virtually impregnable. The sceptic is disqualified by his tendency to go brashly from the old to the new.

Professor Galbraith maintains that production has become the major preoccupation of American capitalism and to an ever increasing extent of Western capitalism, generally. It seems that the ruling ideas—"conventional wisdom"—sees it as the alchemy for solving all social problems. His central theme can be stated in his own words:—

The ancient preoccupation of economic life—with equality, security and productivity, have now narrowed down to a preoccupation with productivity and production. Production has now become the solvent of the tensions once associated with inequality, and it has become the indispensable remedy for the discomforts, anxieties and privations associated with economic insecurity. (Page 93.)

Nevertheless, he thinks there are reasons for the preoccupation of conventional wisdom with ever greater production. If production is ever increasing, they argue, then a greater amount of goods can be distributed among the poor without any corresponding loss to the rich. This will also have the effect of giving a greater semblance of security to the mass of the people as well as taking off

*Hamish Hamilton, 25s.

the edge of the demand for greater social equality.

People, notes Professor Galbraith, identify economic security with regular employment. The greater the employment, the higher is the level of production. Thus, increase of production is looked upon as the essential means of maintaining employment. In this way argues, "conventional wisdom," security can be provided for the working population. High pressure advertising sales techniques and propaganda, called by them economic theory, is the dynamic for promotion of sales and increasing production.

Once in the more rarified climate of Victorian days, classical bourgeois economics taught the greater the supply of goods the less would be their marginal utility, that is the less urgent would be the desire of people to satisfy their wants. But the wheel has come full circle. Now the opposite is being taught, i.e. the greater the supply of wants the more urgent for people will their wants become. This refinement of economic sophistication has already been enshrined as "The Theory of Consumer Demand."

The Sovereign Power

Bourgeois utility theory classically formulated the economic fiction that the consumer is the sovereign power of the economic realm. Via the operations of the market, it is he who is supposedly able to discriminate down to the most subtle nuances, his various wants. It is this subtle ability of consumers to assess the finest shades of the intensity of their desires in a given state of supply of goods which determines the marginal utility, i.e. the market price of the goods they buy. Production, we are solemnly informed, merely serves to gratify their whims.

Professor Galbraith notes that the range and multiplicity of goods offered for sale is not so much determined by the alleged "independent consumer" but rather as the outcome of high pressure publicity and sales techniques of firms engaged in production. In accordance with production for profit, capitalists seek to maximise profits by maximising production. Not only do the various lines of production seek to sell the greatest amount of goods possible, but they seek via advertising, to create wants and so, in the act of production, set up a demand for their products. We may add so far as the consumer being the sovereign power of the economy, he is not even a free subject in the world of consumer choice. The pervasive and persuasive power of ad-mass have seen to that. Not only has the modern wage worker no say in what he produces, he is having less and less say in what he consumes.

The author points out that ever greater production, and this means almost exclusively the products of private enterprise, is the "conventional wisdom's" yardstick for measuring economic achievement. Whether the products are good, bad, or indifferent is no concern of the economist. In line with his "objective science," he must remain on such matters, ethically neutral. Or as Professor Galbraith wryly puts it "The first step was to divorce economics from any judgment on the goods with which it was concerned." It would thus appear that it is the occupation as well as the preoccupation of the economist to try to increase demand, so as to increase production, to further increase demand, to further increase production, *ad infinitum—ad nauseum*. The germ of all modern economic theory is to lower consumer resistance.

Production for Production's Sake

Professor Galbraith sees the major preoccupation of the American set-up and elsewhere, as one of seeking to increase production regardless of what is being produced. Production for production's sake it would appear has become the aimless dreary goal of American and Western capitalism. Such a goal he thinks can only end in social and political bankruptcy.

In one sense capitalism can be regarded as production for production's sake. But here we must sharply differentiate from Professor Galbraith's view, who sees it merely as an end in itself. True, capitalism is a system without conscious regulation or social purpose. It does not follow, however, that it is purposeless. While one of the essential conditions for commodity production is that commodities must possess use-value, the turning out of such is entirely subordinated to the aims of capitalist production—production for profit. This is the restless, never-ending process of capital accumulation. Each act of production has its beginning and end for one purpose—production of surplus value i.e. unpaid labour. It is the expanded production of surplus value which initiates and regulates the expanded production of commodities. In this sense capitalist production can be regarded as production for production's sake.

Professor Galbraith never discusses capitalism at this level of abstraction. It seems the fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our social set up, but in our "conventional wisdom." What is wrong, according to Professor Galbraith, is not the social system but the system of ideas. Not the inherent nature of capitalism but the inherent conservatism and inertia of social thinking. In that case, phrenology or psychology would appear to be more relevant to the studies of the problem of our times than economics.

Ideas and Class Interests

But whatever may be the sins of omission and commission of "conventional wisdom" at bottom it is the expression of private property relations and hence committed in some form or another to the defence and perpetuation of the status quo. An ideology cannot be treated like the alleged love of a man for a woman— "as

a thing past." So while in his own mind the author may be clear as to what he is attacking he is unclear as to what it is that "conventional" wisdom is really defending.

In actual fact ideology and material class interests are inseparably connected. Because Professor Galbraith inverts social reality by making ideas conventional wisdom—the basis for his social analysis, instead of the economic soil from which they grow, his picture of extant society has an "Alice Through the Looking Glass" perspective. He wants society to be a national undertaking designed for human ends. It is "conventional wisdom" which prevents it. But he fails to come to grips with the substantial reality of the situation, by being unable to see that social production is not geared to social interests but private interests, i.e. owners of capital, and thus the objective source of conflict between the interests of a few and the needs of the whole of society. Conventional wisdom itself is a reflection of that conflict.

Professor Galbraith may flay "conventional wisdom" with invincible logic, but the final illogicality rests with him. He wants "the ruling ideas" to give up their preoccupation with increasing production, but the fact remains that the self expansion of capital, and hence expansion of production, is the basic law of capitalism's existence. Nor is logic his strongest point when he reproves the "ruling ideas" for the reluctance to spend money on social reforms and the readiness to spend money on armaments. It is true both come out of profits, but social services are a "luxury" to be kept within bounds. Armaments are a necessity for the defence of capitalist interests.

Ideas and Logic

Professor Galbraith dwells on the aimlessness of a social set-up whose goal is production for the sake of production. What he ignores is the fact that the national allocation of productive resources towards social ends cannot be undertaken in a society where capital is the form of man's domination over man. He comments acidly on the nature of our social transactions, but he evades the crucial issue that the very nature of extant society compels the major social transaction to be a cash one and where the social scale is marked off in pounds, shillings and pence, or the equivalent currency and status and prestige values are part of the norms of social assessment. Indeed, in the country where Professor Galbraith lives, it has been said that to be a "failure" is the toughest thing on earth. Such are the set of values, inevitably reared in a set-up whose ruling injunction is—exploit or be exploited.

One can agree with the author that the thinking of "conventional wisdom" is riddled with contradictions, illusions, illogicality and pretensions. But disguised motivation is the heart of all ideologies. Yet the dilemma which Professor Galbraith sees is not as he thinks the dilemma of "conventional wisdom," it is the dilemma of capitalist society. It is part of the social paradox that whatever the illogicality of conventional wisdom, thinking, its basic assumptions are logically consistent with the

requirements of class conditioned society. They may see the social reality "through a glass darkly," but at least they see it. Professor Galbraith's idealistic "glass" having no material backing to it, he fails to see reality, he only sees through it.

Nevertheless, it must not be thought that conventional wisdom is ideologically a closed shop. It is always absorbing new entrants into the Establishment. It has accommodated many heretics in the past, it will accommodate many more in the future. Keynes was once regarded by conventional wisdom as a heretic, says Professor Galbraith, when he formulated his "General Theory of Employment." Now vide the author "Keynes . . . was also on his way to constructing a new body of 'conventional wisdom,' the obsolescence of some parts in its turn, is now well advanced." It is true that the author tells us that the enemy of "conventional wisdom" is not ideas but the march of events" (page 10). But never does he relate ideas to the economic realities and development of capitalism. Seeing ideas as Kantian "things in themselves," he simply relates ideas to other ideas. It thus becomes the process of the puppy chasing its own tail.

Like most ideologues he does not see the conflict of ideas, including his own as in reality a conflict between the productive forces and the social relation within which

they work, but as a struggle between progressive and non-progressive forces. In essence the social problems are not the obsolescence of ideas, but the obsolescence of a system which has outlived its social usefulness. Whether capitalism produces more or produces less from the standpoint of productive activity and human creative energies it will always remain a society materially and culturally impoverished. Not until productive sources and activity are freely and commonly shared in a classless society can the rational allocation of resources towards human ends become the ruling principle of social life.

Professor Galbraith has many telling things to say about capitalism. Yet in the end his own "brave new world" is an American capitalism entrenched behind new lines of defence. He may think he is in hot pursuit of progress. No doubt if he runs hard enough he will catch the coat tails of the Fabians of the 1880's. If he runs harder still he may come abreast of their notions of a reformed and more humane capitalism.

And so at the end, Professor Galbraith stands for capitalism, albeit a reformed capitalism. If asked then where his basic loyalties lay, in all honesty he would have to reply "on the side of 'conventional wisdom'."

E. W.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor



—bogus or real—doesn't appeal to "never-had-it-so-gooders," "big heads," self-satisfied "middle-class" workers, ostentatious car-owners, TV addicts, etc.

Yours truly,
Dunstable, Beds. J. L. D.

REPLY

Your principles declare that government, etc. . . may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation.

Marx said that the State is the executive committee of the governing class. The Socialist Labour Party wants to abolish the State as such, and without being completely vague about what Socialism is, it has a concrete programme of Socialist Industrial Unionism—which it can expound better than I—which is a blueprint for a Socialist Society.

The S.L.P. goes a stage further than S.P.G.B. in clarifying their position—so it strikes me.

On page 87 of the June SOCIALIST STANDARD you criticise Lenin and Stalin as they were worlds apart from Marx and Engels on the role and function of the working class.

However, Lenin's statement that "If we wait for the people to understand Socialism we shall wait a thousand years." He was an optimist. Socialism

Our correspondent implies that the Socialist Party of Great Britain has only a vague conception of Socialism. In fact, our object—a social system based upon the common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution—is a concise definition of Socialism, and one which has stood for the 55 years of our existence. The establishment of Socialism is prevented because the majority of the world's population do not want it; at every election they vote overwhelmingly to continue running society in the interests of the capitalist class. This is done through the State machine—the armed and police forces, judiciary system and so on, which are all controlled by Parliament. Any attempt to bypass this State machine is doomed to failure; that is why " . . . a programme of Socialist Industrial Unionism . . ." is futile. Socialism can only be brought into being when the working class understand it and want it and express themselves by sending their delegates to the seats of control over the State machine to carry through the for-

mal process of liquidating capitalism. This will not involve the use of soldiers and policemen to impose Socialism upon an unwilling population—indeed, when Socialism is established, the State and all its oppressive instruments will cease to exist. This is the meaning of the phrase " . . . converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation . . ." in Clause 6 of our Declaration of Principles.

It is true that most workers are satisfied with their lot under capitalism. But they were satisfied before they owned a lot of cars and television sets. The 1914-18 war and the depressions which followed did nothing to shake their support of capitalism. The second world war only made them experiment with the Labour Party version of capitalism before swinging back to the Tories. Working class confusion about Socialism has been deepened by the organisations which think, with Lenin, that "If we wait for the people to understand Socialism we shall wait a thousand years" and have, therefore, asked for support for a programme of capitalist reform which they have called Socialism.

There is no alternative to waiting for the people to understand—but the day of enlightenment can be brought nearer if organisations like the Socialist Labour Party stop spreading confusion.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Is Your ticket really necessary?

ON 25th September, 1825, an exciting event linked the neighbouring towns of Stockton and Darlington, in the North of England. The first steam-driven train, with Stephenson himself at the controls, puffed triumphantly along between the two towns, at the amazing speed of thirty miles an hour. This was the opening of railway travel in Great Britain, which has since passed through the early rivalry of the small companies for passenger and goods traffic, and the amalgamations into the four large companies, until today we have the vast, nationalised British Railways:

Landmark

An early example of the harsh competition was the defeat of the Great Western's application for Parliamentary sanction for their line to Bristol. This was the work of a rival group with interests in a line from London to Southampton. There were the races to the West Country, and the famous Battle of the Gauges, which lasted until 1892, when the Great Western admitted defeat. Brunel's 7 ft. gauge had all the technical advantages, but it was more expensive to lay than the standard track. That was why it never spread beyond the Great Western—and was eventually dropped. Many of these battles were ended when the combatants joined forces, as happened so often during the 19th and early 20th century.

1959 is another landmark in the history of British railway locomotive production. A few months ago the last steam locomotive passed from the works at Crewe, and now diesel and electric power will be taking the place of steam. This is part of British Railways' large-scale modernisation programme, involving the electrification of long stretches of line, rebuilding bridges and platforms and erecting overhead cables. An important part of this programme entails strengthening rails and sleeper beds, for some of the new locomotives can travel at 90 miles an hour and the permanent way must be able to stand the increased stress. Let us hope that the modernisation schemes do not cut too fine a safety margin. We can all remember railway

accidents which have been caused by inadequate safety measures; recently the writer spoke to a signalman who works a 12-hour shift in a busy box on the London to Holyhead Irish Mail route. It was, he said, at times "a bit too much" for him.

The importance of the railway network to the British ruling class forces a higher degree of safety in their operation than perhaps applies in other spheres of commodity production. Railway accidents are generally followed by courts of inquiry, which often expose the excessive working hours, inadequate rest and poor health of workers such as signalmen, who sometimes carry too much responsibility for really safe working. Always undermining the safety margins is the factor of cost, impossible to eliminate so long as profit is the spur to production.

Cardboard Empire

Of course, there is no need to worry about the lack of safety if you cannot afford a ticket, for without this you will not be allowed on to the train. This vast cardboard empire, with its attendant army of human automatons selling, clipping and snooping, is a typical example of the waste of capitalist society. One of the snoopers' jobs is to see that nobody travels a class above his ticket—that nobody who has paid a fare entitling him to a grimy second-class seat, steals into a first-class compartment like those on the *Master Cutler*—the business man's train to Sheffield. Such contrasts, we know, are inherent in capitalist society. But the point is that, despite the euphemistic tags of "public" and "social" services, which are applied to nationalised transport, travel is still for sale—at so much per mile. And the ambition of the railways, as ever, is the accumulation of capital.

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What of the men who have spent the best years of their lives building and operating the vast railway network of Great Britain? Are they to be found living "first class" in the twilight of their lives? Are they enjoying the fruits of their past labours? Alas, such is not the case. Read the *Liverpool Echo* (7.8.59):—

Superannuated railway workers in the South of England are joining forces with their North Wales colleagues in the fight to secure better pensions . . . to see what can be done on a national scale for those elderly people who are living on small fixed incomes.

Such is the lot of the cast-offs of capitalism.

What we really need is a railway system which is operated for our use, instead of for the profit of some company or State bondholders. A railway which travels at a speed dictated by safety, comfort and pleasure, and not by the mad rush of commercial interests. We can only get that when all of society's wealth is freely available to the people of the world. When the workers who have designed, built and operated the railways and all other wealth, decide to take social possession of their social product. Then we can eliminate not merely the class symbols on the carriages but every evidence of privilege and waste, which produces the shoddy along with the best. We shall never again hear, "Tickets, please!" Mankind will have taken a real step forward in its social travels.

G. R. RUSSELL.

LLOYD GEORGE ON THE TRADE BOOM

"The commercial world everywhere is in better heart. There is more enterprise and everything makes the prospect much brighter. I am told, on authority I cannot doubt, that we shall probably see a greater volume of trade this year and next than has ever been witnessed in the history of this country. . . . All indications are that this year's trade will be good, that next year's trade will be better, that the people will be prosperous and that therefore the revenue will show an expansion."

Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech—1910.

• • • • •
The
WESTERN
SOCIALIST

Tough at the Top

ACCOUNTS appeared in the press recently of a report published by the Institute of Directors summarising the results of a questionnaire that had been circulated at random among some of its members, 5,000 out of a total of 32,000. Replies were received from 61 per cent. of these.

The investigation, carried out by the Institute's Medical Research Unit, is part of a long term programme to "define occupational hazards," and to give a picture of a top executive's daily existence. More than two-thirds of those questioned stated that they arrive at work by 9.30 a.m., travelling in cars—self-driven except for 6 per cent. Another one-fifth travel by public transport. More than half work late hours and at home, and some work on Saturdays.

Three-quarters stated that their holidays last year were not more than three weeks. Less than 10 per cent. work less than a full day and 90 per cent. spend three-quarters of their time in executive work outside the Board Room.

In their replies 64 per cent. of the directors attributed their success to experience alone. Only 14 per cent. had a University degree. And although more than 60 per cent. of directors may attend a "Business Lunch" once or twice a week, a third lunch at work in staff canteens and dining rooms.

In reporting the above, the *Daily Telegraph* (27.10.59) had this comment:—

The average Company Director's job may have certain compensations, but it is far from enviable from the point of view of long hours and punishing effort . . . Life is indeed tough at the top.

The firms employing these directors, according to the report, are not extremely large undertakings judged by present day standards. 50 per cent. have a capital issue of less than £10,000 and only one-fifth have more than £1 million employed capital. These figures would eliminate most of the large combines and state-controlled industries.

Most of these directors who have a "tough time" are with firms who have to face keen competition in the business world and to quote the article "their position is far from enviable"—as it is for the majority who have to work for their living.

The Director-General of the Institute, Sir Richard Powel, is reported as saying that:—

To pin down the occupational hazards of executive life it was necessary to know how a man spent his day both at home and at work. The answers, and we have only quoted those of most general interest, will provide our medical director, Dr. H. Beric Wright, with a basis for further research, the aim of which is to keep the director fit and on top of his job.

Well! Well! Keep fit! Most of us lower down the wages scale are below par; and millions of working hours are lost through sickness and injury. Now we see it extends to those "at the top." In this rat race of an existence the highest possible efficiency must be maintained. Although they have a higher standard of living than most, how many would be secure if their job folded up? We have an idea they would be annoyed if told that their interests are identical with the interests of the rest of the working class.

When we read of those "at the top" we might ask "the top of what?" They may be at the top in the way of remuneration for looking after the interests of their employers, as are Service Chiefs, Cabinet Ministers and others, but those really "at the top" are those who own sufficient wealth to enable them to live without having to sell themselves to an employer. This is the dividing line by which one can judge to which class one belongs; Socialists say that all people who have to sell their energies to an employer are members of the working class.

Picture the "City Gent" complete with bowler hat, rolled umbrella and *Daily Telegraph*, after fighting his way into the "sardine tin" of a railway carriage, managing to get the above-mentioned article within reading distance. Perhaps he will feel better when he is convinced that those at the top (which he hopes to reach) have a tough time of it.

There is no mention of the real "top"—no mention of private planes, sea-going yachts, palatial residences, and all that money can buy. That "top" is above the clouds. Don't trouble to look.

CLAUDIO.



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SOCIALIST STANDARD

Journal of SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

DECEMBER 1959

NO CLASS STRUGGLE?

IT is interesting to note the revival, both inside the Labour Party and in the Tory-Liberal ranks, of the belief that though there was once a "class-struggle" that was in the bad old days, and we no longer have it with us. It is particularly amusing to recall that that Labour Party pioneer, Keir Hardie, was saying the same fifty years ago. In 1904, the year the S.P.G.B. was founded, Keir Hardie wrote in his paper, the *Labour Leader* (September 2nd, 1904):—

For my part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a "class" war dependent for its success upon the "class" consciousness of one section of the community is doing Socialism an injustice and indefinitely postponing its triumph.

and again:—

There is no "ruling and oppressed class" in the Marxian sense of the terms in England now. . . . Socialism will come for the most part as a thief in the night, without observation.

Socialism hasn't come stealing in, but the Tories have stolen Labour's reformist programme, including Keir Hardie's beliefs about no class-struggle.

*

CHRISTMAS

What is the message of a Christmas card? A robin on a snow-topped gatepost. The stage coach welcomed at the inn by cheerful yokels. Log fires and sparkling skies. Scenes which conceal some cruel realities. There are millions of refugees in the world. True, there are few in this country—but we have our old age pensioners, many of whom this Christmas will again be cold and hungry. Those who are neither refugees nor pensioners will have it a little better. But soon the turkey and cheroots are forgotten and we are back to living from pay-day to pay-day. There is a better way. Socialism will not be like one long Christmas Day, but it does mean a world where the needs of everybody—young and old, man and woman, black and white—will be satisfied.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is urgently in need of funds. Send your donation to our Head Office now!

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN



OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1 That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2 That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3 That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4 That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5 That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6 That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7 That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

CHINA

10 years of the "Peoples" Republic

THIS year marks the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and is probably as good a time as any to review the events of the past decade. For ten years the 650 million population of the largest country in the world has gone through an amazing process watched with intense interest by many millions, particularly of other oriental people.

China has been somewhat of a mystery to Westerners. A land of cheap labour, widespread and constantly recurring famines and civil wars, with a society that seemed in a state of perpetual arrested development and a written and spoken language that usually proved an effective barrier to understanding.

But in 1949, the Communist Party of China won the civil war against the Nationalist Party and seized control of the reins of government, to the horror of the God-fearing and the respectable. Since then, the sleeping giant that was China seems to have woken up, and hardly a week goes by without this country coming into the news and sometimes making the headlines. But this is a process that has crept up, in typical old-time Chinese style, by stealth and almost without notice, although it has a background of tremendous growth and change.

But many people wonder what the Chinese workers themselves think of living under "communism" and whether, in fact, China really has a new system of society.

What Happened

In Chinese agriculture, which employs more people than any other occupation, the tempo of development has been rapid. There have been great technical improvements in irrigation, in deep ploughing, soil improvement, pest control, use of chemical fertilisers, farm machinery and specialisation in high-yielding crops, such as rice, corn and potatoes. The productivity in rice in 1949 was 1,668 lbs. per acre; by 1958 it had increased to an estimated 3,000 lbs., whilst the productivity in cotton during the same period rose from 143 lbs. to an estimated 300 lbs. per acre. State investment in agriculture rose from U.S.\$389 million in 1952 to U.S.\$892 million in 1958.

There has also been, it is said, an improvement in the standard of living of the agricultural worker which the government proudly proclaims as one of the ways that communism works for the benefit of the under-privileged. With the improvements claimed for the Western worker there is usually a snag—things are not always what they seem. So with the Chinese agricultural worker. He has to work nearly twice as many days in the year for his increased standard of living—from 172 days for a full-time agricultural worker (Dr. Lossing Buck's survey in the

1920's) to around 300 days at the present time. But this is not all. Through the organisation of the communes (of which more later) about 100 million women in the country districts are said to have been released from household chores to become wage-slaves.

To cure any impression that they may be living in the very lap of luxury, it should be noted that the staple diet of rice, as well as cotton (used for practically all forms of clothing) are still both rationed.

Development of Agrarian Communities

The changes that are going on are not all of a technical nature. In education, for instance, primary enrolment increased from 24 million in 1949 to 86 million (estimated) in 1958, and there has also been a heavy increase in the number of higher standard students of agriculture as well as research workers.

The vast changes have been preceded by widespread social reforms which have removed many obstacles, such as the irrational land system, superstitious practices and the previously inferior position of peasant women. The domination of the landlord-gentry and the power of the patriarchal heads of the village have been reduced.

There have also been far-reaching changes in the organisation of the countryside. These started with mutual-aid teams whereby the peasants—those die-hard independent individualists—were induced to perform the main work on their farms in groups working together. The peasant still owned his own land and the produce from it. This form of organisation was the thin end of the wedge and led to further development. Then followed various forms of farming, such as co-operative producers' societies and collective farms. In some, the peasants pooled their land and implements and were credited with their value and with their labour. The crops were shared out on that basis. The peasants could withdraw if they wished.

As time went on these organisations developed until the peasant was not much more than a shareholder in a large community farm without the option of withdrawal. These changes, incidentally, eased the task of tax collecting and governmental control.

The Communes

The present form of agrarian organisation is the commune, which the Peking Government have the effrontery to describe as the transition stage from Socialism to Communism. An analysis of the organisation of the communes shows how worthless and misleading is the claim and reminds one of the somewhat parallel claim by the

British Labour Party that capitalism plus the reforms they propose makes Socialism.

The commune is now the basic unit for agrarian China and averages from 10,000 to 40,000 members. The commune has centralised control and unified management and engages in all spheres of activity, including industry, agriculture, forestry, credit, public health, communications and military training. Communal kitchens and nurseries release the women for wage-labour. Even private garden plots are taken over along with the peasants' farms. Payment is purely by wage on a variety of "piece-work plus bonus" system. Thus, almost at a stroke has the peasant of China been converted into a wage-labourer—as much a member of the working-class as any Western man-in-the-street, despite the fact that the government confuses the issue by describing these community sweat-shops as Communism.

The Peking government (reported in *The Far Eastern Economic Review*, December 4th, 1958), requires each commune member to be "obedient, enthusiastic, over-fulfil production quotas, struggle against evil personalities and practices, think progressively and work at least 28 days per month." What a lot they expect for a handful of rice and a bowl of chop-suey! Moreover, there will only be one employer in the country districts and that will be the commune management. Under these conditions the boss has very much the whip hand and the worker has to jump to it, for if he falls foul of his boss there is no other to offer him a job. In his spare time, military duties are prescribed.

It is in the use of bonuses and rewards that the commune leadership can exert the greatest control. 80 per cent. of the basic wage of each member will be paid him directly, but 20 per cent. will be withheld, to be returned only in the event of outstanding performance. A worker who fails to display the proper "enthusiasm" or is lax or fails to work the requisite number of days, not only

loses this 20 per cent. already withheld, but runs the risk of being demoted to a lower wage grade or of having further wages deducted.

According to one commune's draft regulations "the distribution of income shall be based on the principle of ensuring high speed in expanded production." While the regulations call for increased wages as the rate of production goes up, the regulations prescribe not only that the rate of wage increase must be slower than the rate of increase in production, but also that when living standards reach the level of "well-to-do middle peasants" the rate of wage increase should be reduced so as to leave more for the development of industry.

Industry

The expansion of industry in the past ten years is almost as marked as the changes in agriculture. According to official claims, steel production has increased fifty fold since 1949—from 158,000 tons in 1949 to 8 million tons in 1958. The annual pre-war production of 35 million tons of coal had increased to 270 million tons in 1958; and the reserves are vast. In mid 1958 the Vice-Minister of Geology claimed that China ranks first in the world in reserves of many important minerals and metals. China is now successfully exporting machinery (in addition to many other products) in competition with other capitalist countries.

The working-class standard of living during the ten years under review has certainly been rising, but not so quickly as their output. From this we must except the vast numbers in labour camps whose plight horrified some of the Labour Party M.P.s when they visited China a few years ago. Those victims work at a killing speed in slave conditions.

China is entering the ranks as a great industrial country with all that that implies.

F. OFFORD.

To be concluded.

50 Years Ago

LIBERALS AND SOCIALISM

Dr. Macnamara, in a strong speech, declared that Radicalism was irrevocably opposed to the principles on which Socialism was based.—*Daily Chronicle* (21.10.1909).

★

"The people are beginning to discover that Socialism and social reform are two entirely different things. In this respect I adopt entirely the definition of the two things given by Mr. Balfour in Birmingham in 1907:—

Socialism has one meaning and one meaning only. Socialism means, and can mean, nothing less, that the community is to take all the means of production into its own hands, and that private enterprise and private property is to come to an end. That is Socialism and nothing else is Socialism.

Social Reform is when the State, based on private enterprise and based on private property—recognises that the result can only be obtained by respecting private property and encouraging private enterprise, asks men to contribute towards great national, social and public objects. That is social reform.

I contend that our proposals [the Liberal Government's Budget, 1909] fall under the latter description and not under the former.—Mr. Alexander Ure, the Lord Advocate, quoted in *Daily Chronicle* (1.10.1909).

CHURCHILL ON POVERTY

"I have often asked myself whether our splendid civilisation really conferred blessings on all classes. Is it really true to say that the poorest man in Scotland is not any happier than the present Hottentot or the poorest Eskimo? I am inclined to think that he is not any happier, but perhaps more unsociable. He is homeless in the heart of great cities; he is hungry in the midst of plenty such as was never seen on earth before and he suffers the privations of the savage with the nerves of civilised man. . . . To compare the life and lot of the African aboriginal—secure in his abyss of contented degradation, rich in that he lacks everything and wants nothing—with the long nightmare of worry and privation, of dirt and gloom and squalor, lit only by gleams of torturing knowledge and tantalizing hope, which constitutes the lives of so many poor people in England and Scotland, is to feel the grand tremble underfoot." Winston Churchill in a speech at Edinburgh —1910.



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Mr. Macmillan settles in

Two months after their smashing victory, how are the Tories shaping? Mr. Macmillan, all smooth hair and confident smiles, had a winning line for his campaign. Everything was O.K., we were all doing well—why muck it up? Just a little more patience, a little more effort and (most essential) another five years' power for the Tories, and that happy world of boundless prosperity which we have been tempted with for so long would be a reality. That was the promise. And the fulfilment?

Queen's Speech

As usual the government announced their immediate programme in the Queen's Speech. They are going to do something about building societies, to try to clean up shady deals like the Jasper affair. A lot of workers think that this is a good idea, although they do not own a single share in a building society and only deal with the societies because they hold a mortgage on their home. Perhaps the government are worried by the row which the Labour Party kicked up during the election about Mr. Jasper. And, of course, governments always prefer the business of capitalism to be run in accordance with the rules. But we can be sure that as fast as one shady loophole is plugged another will appear: and the only people who are ever interested to use the loophole are those with enough money to make large investments and to dabble in take-over bids and the like. Which excludes most of the people who voted for the Tories.

During the election, both of the large parties tried to prove that the other was indifferent to the plight of the old age pensioners. Mr. Macmillan talked about the old ones sharing in prosperity. Yet all the government now offers is a measure to enable pensioners and widowed mothers to earn more without having their pensions cut. Not a general rise in pensions. Not even the end of the earnings rule. This is typical of the stingy attitude which always dominates policy on pensions. Afraid to give

retired workers too much, every government, rather than a large general increase, has preferred to play with niggardly adjustments. The Labour government had their tobacco tokens; the latest measure is in this tradition. Workers who are attracted by such schemes ignore a vital point. No capitalist ever worries about a pension. Whether it is high or low, his livelihood is assured by his ownership of stocks and shares; there is no earnings rule on his dividends. The only people who need worry about the size of pensions are retired workers, who have suffered poverty during their working life and who know outright distress when old age forces them out of their job.

Betting and Gambling

Perhaps the most newsworthy legislation of the new government will be the amended betting and gaming laws. On the evening of November 4th the B.B.C. interviewed some people in Birmingham, where races had been run that day. Some colourful opinions were expressed on the legalising of betting shops and other forms of gambling. Nobody mentioned the Stock Exchange, where even the Church of England could always back its fancy. And nobody touched on the reason why workers gamble. Depending on a job for a living is unpleasant. Above all, it is an insecure business. Some forms of gambling offer a chance—albeit a small one—of winning enough money to ensure a plentiful and secure life. Churchmen and others may denounce those who take this chance. But who can be blamed for wanting to change a council dwelling for a decent house? Or cheap, mass-produced clothes for some which fit and are made of good cloth? Who doesn't want to be free of insecurity? The great tragedy is that so much effort goes into trying to gamble our way out of poverty instead of looking for something less chancy.

The Labour Party did their best to pick holes in the Government's programme without ever suggesting that

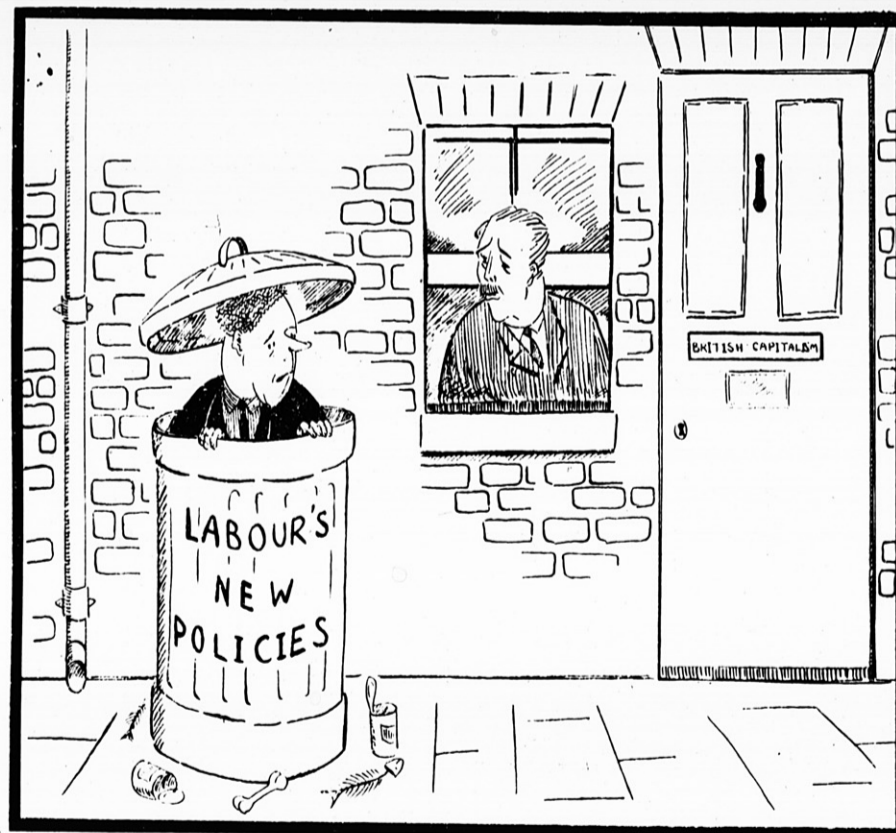
they would have been much different. After all, their big vote-catcher was supposed to be the promise on income tax and purchase tax, which would have meant, at the most, a few shillings a week to the wage-earner. Which is roughly what the Tory promises meant. Labour is very worried about its lack of appeal, for the party fought a skilful campaign yet took a beating. Nobody seems to like nationalisation very much and at least one of their prominent men wants to change the party's name. Mr. Gaitskell was not to be drawn until the party's conference late last month. *The Guardian* of November 5th, said that "... he was not ready at present to declare his mind ..." on the proposal to drop nationalisation from the Labour Party programme. What a change! Once, the Labour Party swore by nationalisation as an instalment of Socialism. Now that it is thought to lose votes, it may be forgotten. Whether or not this happens is not very important. What does matter is that nobody should think that nationalisation has anything to do with Socialism, nor that if the Labour Party drops it they are becoming less of a Socialist organisation. For nationalisation is but a re-organisation of capitalism, which the Labour Party have always busied themselves with.

Can the Labour Party revive and come to power again? Or will the Tories keep on winning elections? These

questions need not worry members of the working-class, who will always have the problems which capitalism dumps on them, no matter which party happens to be running the system. Earl Attlee's government told us many times that our troubles would be over if this country could eliminate its trade deficit with the U.S.A. Well, last month Mr. Macmillan's President of the Board of Trade announced considerable relaxations in the restrictions on imports of goods from the United States. He was able to do this because, as *The Guardian* of Nov. 5th said Britain "... recently had a trade surplus with the United States for the first time in nearly a hundred years." Yet the promised land is as far away as ever. Still, to get a few shillings a week on their wages, workers often have to strike—and sometimes find that the rise they have won is swallowed by increasing prices. And why would they need to fight for a rise, if they were all so prosperous?

Even so, the majority of the working class are satisfied with capitalism. Certainly, for the Tories every prospect seems pretty pleasing. The Government appears all set for smooth passage, with suave Captain Macmillan to steady the helm and to see that none of the passengers are seasick. Yet who dare say that storms are not ahead? Mr. Macmillan's would, not be the first administration, initially confident, to be wrecked by a capitalist hurricane.

IVAN.



Found anything yet?

READERS, we hope, will forgive us for writing about death, funerals, and cemeteries. Let us assure them that we have no morbid interest; we are not avid readers of certain Sunday papers whose function is to dwell in the graveyards elaborately reporting exhumations, inquests, opened coffins, and desecrated tombs.

We are, however, very much interested in the big-business commercial aspect of cemeteries and funerals. The dictum of Capitalism is that the worker should not only not live above his means, as if this were possible, but should not die beyond his means. The funeral should, of course, be up to standard. The final resting place of the average worker, apart from those who are cremated, is the Municipal Cemetery. Hunks of marble, rotten sculpture, decaying flowers, praying parsons looking for a few shillings from the relatives; a few hurried meaningless words and the proletarian funeral is all over.

Our sudden interest in this sordid matter was reawakened by the recent death of Mr. Errol Flynn, a film actor. Mr. Flynn, a wealthy individual, was not buried in a Municipal Cemetery. His place of burial was Forest Lawns Memorial Park, Los Angeles, California. It is impossible for a visitor to Los Angeles not to know Forest Lawns Memorial Park. Large hoardings (floodlit at night) show the green lawns round the waterfall in the rose-strewn gardens, an idyllic spot. These hoardings, rather similar in size and character to our familiar Guinness stout signs, tell us largely that burial at Forest Lawns Memorial Park is good for you. The slickness of the advertising makes you wish to die in order to take advantage of it.

The *Daily Mail* (19.10.59) gave us some details of Mr. Flynn's last resting place. We learned that the bill for the funeral was about £1,200. Also that the

Funerals on H.P.

Company owning the cemetery had invested more than 100 million dollars (about £35 million) in it. There is a Hall of the Crucifixion seating 1,400 people, used also for Symphony concerts as well as for other sacred money-making occasions. High on the hillside stands the Little Church of the Flowers, a copy of Stoke Poges church where Gray wrote his *Elegy* in a Country Churchyard. To the East lies the Wee Kirk among the Heather, with real heather imported from Scotland, mark you. On the hill crest is the Church of the Reconciliation, an exact reproduction of Rottingdean, Sussex, Saxon Church. Throughout the cemetery piped stereo music is played. Mortuaries, courts of freedom, gardens of peace, crematoria, columbarium, all add to the variety.

Do not think the practical aspect is neglected, for in the vast, administrative block of buildings, to the strains of "Sheep may safely graze," visiting families are urged "Buy your grave on the never-never plan." "Choose your casket now." Balanced comment on this state of affairs is impossible.

When three years ago the shareholders closed a Nottingham cemetery because it was no longer making a profit, there was a public outcry. The dead could not be buried unless it was profitable. We were not surprised. Apart from public health considerations, cemeteries are run on the same basis as any other business—no profit—no production or service.

The workers should not worry too much about the high cost of dying and respectable burial, but concentrate on doing a little real living instead. Socialist ideas open up the vista of a new world, and provide a new healthy outlook. Until Socialist ideas are accepted and acted upon, the human intellect will accept as normal the depraved morality of this sick society.

J. D.

For a socialist analysis
of war read

**SOCIALIST PARTY
AND WAR**

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Karl Marx

SEVENTY-SIX years ago, on March 17th, 1883, Karl Marx was buried in Highgate Cemetery in London. No massive structure of marble or bronze is needed to remember the man, for his work is its own memorial. At the graveside, Friedrich Engels, who was Marx's best friend and his co-operator for over forty years, said this:

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. He discovered the simple fact hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that man must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing before he can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, forms the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have evolved and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of *vice versa* as had hitherto been the case.

Karl Marx was a German, the son of a lawyer who practised in the old cathedral town of Trier on the Moselle, close to what was then the French frontier. There he was born on 5th May, 1818. He died an exile in London, after he had been forced to flee from Cologne, Paris and Brussels to escape the persecution of the ruling powers of the day. He could have chosen the comfortable career of a lawyer or a university professor, but he preferred to spend his time and energy in educating the workers. He first became active as a writer, championing the cause of the agricultural workers and small farmers in the Rhineland in their fight against the land-owners. When the newspaper in which he wrote was suspended, he went to Paris, where he studied the history of the French Revolution, the Utopian Socialists and the start of the French labour movement.

He became a Socialist and made friends with Engels, the son of a textile manufacturer in Barmen, who was then employed in his father's branch in Man-

chester. Engels, too, became a Socialist and thenceforth the two men were united in a partnership of thought and action. Notably, they produced the famous *Communist Manifesto*, which became a guide and compass to the Socialist movement. At the time, the political domination which the semi-feudal reactionaries of the Holy Alliance were able to exert in Europe was being threatened by the rise of Capitalism. The steam engine had put the factory in place of the old productive method of handicraft and the railway had begun to replace the stage coach. But the new social system had its own evils; the second half of the '40's saw Europe plunged into a long and serious commercial crisis, which severely shook Capitalism.

Said the *Communist Manifesto*: "All history until now is the history of class struggles." Capitalism sharpened the struggle into a clash between two classes, the Capitalists and the wage working class. The immediate task was the organisation of the workers into an independent movement for the conquest of political power and the overthrow of Capitalist society. This struggle is no national affair; it must be fought out internationally, until the establishment of Socialism brings the end of class rule and the exploitation of the working class. The *Manifesto* summed it up: "Workers of the World Unite!"

The International

In 1864, Marx took an active part, with Engels, in launching and directing the first International Working Men's Association. The First International, although necessary, was foredoomed to failure by the immature consciousness of the workers, which arose from the undeveloped conditions of Capitalist society. Internal disputes and the repressive laws on the Continent eventually broke it, but it had not been all in vain. In the midst of his work for the International, Marx published the first volume of *Capital*, which has been

attacked by many people prominent in various fields of thought and by a long line of professional and literary hacks. They have all claimed to prove Marxian theories incorrect and outdated, but events have been against them. Marx's labour theory of value and his materialist conception of history have been vindicated again and again.

Marx was a great scientific thinker and a courageous man, who bore witness to the old saying that the pen is mightier than the sword. He offered the working class the knowledge—and through knowledge the power—to establish a classless, warless, tradeless system of society. Because of this, his name will be remembered long after his revilers have perished.

J. E. ROE.

Read
Socialist Literature

QUESTIONS
OF THE DAY

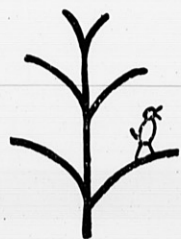
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from the Branches

EALING BRANCH

Will members please note that the third and fourth sessions of the Economics Class, being run by Comrade Hardy, will be held on 4th and 18th December. The Class has proved very popular and the attendances have been good. The Writers' Class is also going well, with a consistent attendance of about eight members each week.

The General Purposes Committee of the Branch has made efforts to obtain debates with the local Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties, as well as with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The Tories and the C.N.D. have refused to debate and we are still waiting to hear from the Labourites and Liberals. The Committee is trying to arrange a Film Show for the early part of the New Year, with perhaps another to follow some time in February. More details will be given later.

The ordinary Branch business meetings have been very well attended on average and it is hoped that this will continue for the rest of the Winter season.

SOCIALIST STANDARD

The beginning of a new year (1960) is as good a time as any other to make sure of a regular supply of the "STANDARD." So here is a reminder that for 7s. 6d. post free, the organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will be delivered to any address in the British Isles for 12 months. Not only

does it ensure sales, but the more copies sold, the more the Socialist case is propagated. If members could make the additional effort to complete a subscription form, or arrange for a friend or sympathiser to do so, it would be one other way in which to help the Party and spread the case for Socialism.

DENNISON HOUSE

The last of the present series is being held on Sunday, December 6th. at 7.30 p.m. Comrade Hardy is speaking on "Inflation and Recent Government Policy." Please make a note of the date and time and support the meetings. It is hoped to extend these meetings in the New Year.

WRITERS' MEETING

Will writers and other members interested in writing, please note that the usual monthly meeting will be held on Monday, 21st December, at Head Office. Commencement 8 p.m. prompt.

DISCUSSIONS

Bloomsbury, Lewisham and Paddington are holding discussions after branch meetings and details are given on the meetings page.

P. H.

BRANCHES

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

MEETINGS

DENISON HOUSE SUNDAY LECTURE
296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.1.
Dec. 6th. at 7.30 p.m.

Inflation and Recent Government Policy *E. Hardy*

LEWISHAM LECTURE

Davenport Hall, Davenport Rd., Rushey Green, SE6.
Monday, Dec. 14th, at 8 p.m.

Crime, Delinquency and Society *R. Coster*

PADDINGTON LECTURES

The Olive Branch, Crawford Street, W1.
Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.
Dec. 2nd.

Living Standards—High or Low? *J. D'Arcy*

Dec. 9th.

What is a Full Life? *G. Arthur*

BLOOMSBURY DISCUSSION

Conway Hall (North Room), Red Lion Square, WC1.
Thursday, Dec. 2nd, at 8.30 p.m.

Socialism—Name or Movement? *N. Gillies*

LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays

Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m.
East Street, Walworth
Clapham Common, 3.45 p.m.
Dec. 6th, 20th (11 a.m.); 13th (12 noon); 27th (1 p.m.).
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 p.m.

Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m.
Gloucester Road, 8 p.m.

Saturdays

Rushcroft Road, Brixton, 8 p.m.
Castle Stret, Kingston, 8 p.m.
Roper Street, Eltham, 3 p.m.

BASILDON. Thursdays 7.30 p.m., Craylands County Secondary School, Basildon. Correspondence: R. H. Bowie, Cranford, Basil Drive, Laindon, Essex.

BIRMINGHAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month. Enquiries to H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

BLOOMSBURY. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Dec. 3 and 17) in month 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

BRADFORD & DISTRICT. Correspondence: Peter Hall, 10 Spring Grove Terrace, Leeds 6. Tel.: Bradford 71904 any time.

CAMBERWELL. Mondays 8 p.m., 52 Clapham High St., S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 334 South Lambeth Road, Stockwell, S.W.8.

DARTFORD. Fridays 8 p.m., Dartford Labour Club, Lowfield St., Dartford. Discussions after business. Correspondence: W. G. Catt, 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, S.E.9.

EALING. Fridays 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Windsor Rd., Ealing (nr. Broadway). Correspondence: E. T. Critchfield, 48 Balfour Road, W.13.

ECCELES. 2nd Friday (Dec. 11) in month, 7.30 p.m., 5 Gaskell Road, Eccles. Correspondence: F. Lea at above address.

FULHAM & CHELSEA. 1st and 3rd Thursdays (Dec. 3 discussion and 17 business) in month 8 p.m. "Kings Head", 4 Fulham High Street, S.W.6. (nr. Putney Bridge). Correspondence: L. Cox, 22 Victoria House, Ebury Bridge Rd. SW1. Tel. SLO 5258.

GLASGOW (City). Alternate Wednesdays (Dec. 9 and 23) 8 p.m. Religious Institute Rooms, 200 Buchanan Street, C.1. Correspondence: J. Richmond, 24 Southdean Avenue, W.5.

GLASGOW (Kelvingrove). Alternate Mondays (Dec. 7 and 21) 8 p.m., Partick Burgh Halls, Partick. Correspondence: R. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

HACKNEY. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Bethnal Green Town Hall, Room 3 (Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: W. Ivimey, 12a, Connaught Grange, Connaught Gardens, N.13.

HAMPSTEAD. Alternate Wednesdays 8 p.m., 126 Boundary Road, Abbey Road, N.W.8 (nr. South Hampstead L.M.R. Station). Correspondence: F. Webb, 52 Goldbeaters Grove, Edgware, Middlesex.

ISLINGTON. Thursdays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7. Lecture or discussion after business. Correspondence: R. E. Carr, SPGB, c/o above address.

KINGSTON-upon-THAMES. Fridays 8 p.m., 19 Spencer Road, East Molesey. Correspondence: Secretary, at above address. Tel.: Mol 6492.

LEWISHAM. Mondays 8 p.m., Co-op. Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, S.E.6. Correspondence: P. Hart, 22 Gt. Elms Road, Bromley. Tel.: Rav 7811.

NOTTINGHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: Secretary, 83 Portland Road, Waverley Street.

PADDINGTON. Wednesdays 8 p.m., "The Olive Branch," Crawford Street, W.1. (corner Homer Street, nr. Marylebone Road). Discussions after business. Correspondence: C. May, 1 Hanover Road, N.W.10.

SOUTHEND. 1st Tuesday (Dec. 1), 19 Kingswood Chase, Leigh-on-Sea; 3rd Tuesday (Dec. 15), 17 Cotswold Road, Westcliff-on-Sea; in each month, 7.30 p.m. Correspondence: Dick Jacobs, at above latter address.

WEST HAM. Thursdays 8 p.m., Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E.12. Discussions from 9 p.m. Correspondence: D. Deutz, 80 Bowdsey Ave., Ilford, Essex.

WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY. Fridays 7.30 p.m., 146 Inderwick Road, Hornsey, N.8 (41 bus to Tottenham Lane, nr. "Hope & Anchor"). Correspondence: Secretary, at above address.

WOOLWICH. 2nd and 4th Fridays (Dec. 11) in month, 7.30 p.m., Town Social Club, Mason's Hill, S.E.18. Discussions at 8 p.m. Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, S.E.9.

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GROUPS

BRISTOL. Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel.: 24680.

CHELtenham. Enquiries: Ken Smith, 338 Swindon Road.

DORKING & DISTRICT. Enquiries: O.C. Iles, "Ashleigh" Townfield Rd., Dorking.

MANCHESTER. Enquiries: J. M. Breakey, 2 Dennison Avenue, Manchester 20. Tel.: Did 5709.

MITCHAM & DISTRICT. Tuesday (Dec. 8), 8 p.m., "White Hart," Mitcham Cricket Green. Enquiries: T. Lord, 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

NEWPORT & DISTRICT. Meetings at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport (Details advertised in *South Wales Argus*). Enquiries M. Harris, 25 Court Farm Estate, Cwmbran, nr. Newport, Mon.

OLDHAM. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m., 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees, at above address. Tel.: Mai 5165.

REDHILL. Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Rd., Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

SUSSEX. Enquiries: W. Craske, "Hazelcroft," Green Road, Wivelsfield Green, Sussex.

SWANSEA. Enquiries: V. Brain, 17 Brynawellon, Pencelliogi, Llanelly, Glam.

The Passing Show

Well-being Promoters, Ltd.

In an article in *The Times* (Oct. 30th) a discovery was announced which should receive widespread publicity. This is it: "The purpose of industry is to promote the well-being of the nation." Those of you who thought the purpose of industry was to make a profit out of the labour of the workers in it were, of course, quite wrong. Shareholders do not invest money in a company in order to receive interest on it, but merely to promote the well-being of the nation. Those accounts one reads in the newspapers, of company meetings at which shareholders shout and jeer, baying for the blood of the chairman merely because the company is paying less interest than was expected, are merely flagrant cases of mis-reporting. What actually happens, it is now clear, is that the chairman comes in and says: "Dear fellow-shareholders, this year we decided that the well-being of the nation would best be promoted by paying our workers the full value of what they produce. This, unfortunately, means that we didn't get any surplus value out of them, so there is no profit, and there will be no interest paid out on the shares." The shareholders then give three hearty cheers for the chairman, sing "Land of Hope and Glory," and go out to queue for jobs at the nearest Labour Exchange.

At any rate, that's what must happen if we believe the *Times* article.

Dull and repetitive

The author of the article is said to write "from experience as foreman and assistant works manager." But even this apologist for capitalism feels compelled to write: "Ninety-nine jobs out of a hundred in factories even today are dull, repetitive, often physically very tiring, and frequently dirty." Socialists have said this over and over again: but when a man who goes so far in defence of capitalism as to deny even that it is run for profit, when he says this about the

conditions of factory labour, then it must carry all the more weight.

Second thoughts

"Yesterday's Enemy" is a recently-produced British film about the British army fighting the Japanese in Burma during the last year. A review in the *Daily Herald* (14.9.59) describes a sequence in it:—

A British captain . . . has captured an informer who, he believes, has vital knowledge of a forthcoming Japanese attack. He threatens the informer with death, but the informer thinks the captain is bluffing and refuses to talk. The captain picks two villagers at random and orders them to be shot. The informer still refuses to talk. The villagers are shot—and then the informer breaks down. The captain has his information.

The captain follows up his murder of two innocent villagers by having the informer shot, as well.

Remembering the propaganda with which we were spoon-fed in the last war, about how we were fighting for decency and humanity against the brutality of the other side, you might think that nothing like this could ever have been done by anyone in the British army. But not a bit of it. Major-General A. J. H. Snelling, who was with the 14th Army in Burma said: "I believe incidents like this did happen during the grim retreat." General Sir Douglas Gracey said: "I heard of similar incidents . . . These awkward situations did arise." Major-General H. L. Davies said: "This film is absolutely real and authentic." A fourth high-ranking officer, General Sir Robert Mansergh, was due to speak the film's praises at its New York premier.

Very honest of them, now, fourteen years after the war has ended. And no one alleges that war can be fought with clean hands. But why did the politicians and generals tell us throughout the war that all the brutality was on the other side?

Morality first stop

To alleviate the distresses of the Indian people after the recent disastrous floods in India, the Minister for Labour sent out a special train on a "character-building tour." *The Guardian* (19.9.59). It carried fifty Himalayan holy men, complete with five hundred disciples. The leader of the party announced: "We are going to our countrymen with a begging bowl, but not to ask alms but a pledge to give up vice." The cause of the floods, then, is revealed: the gods are punishing India for its "vice." But whose vice? The floods could hardly have been expected to catch any Indian princes or industrialists, who would have their private planes available, and some of whom in any case would be sunning themselves at that time on the Riviera. It must be the vice of the Indian masses which caused all the trouble. The gods appear to have taken the ruling class view that all misfortunes are caused by the troublesomeness of the rank-and-file. This won't surprise Socialists, who have realised for a long time that the gods are hand-in-glove with the ruling class. Well, there it is. The Indian Minister for Labour has seen where the trouble lies. If only the Indian peasants can lay off the palm-wine on Saturday nights, next year the Brahmaputra may stay within its banks!

ALWYN EDGAR

COMPANION PARTIES

Socialist Party of Australia

P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne
29 Doris Street, North Sydney, P.O. Box 2291
Sydney

Socialist Party of Canada

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

Socialist Party of Ireland

Patrick Boylan, 115 Walkinstown Drive, Dublin
Gen. Sec: 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast

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